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ABORIGINAL AMERICA

THE

UNITED STATES

IN

PROPHECY

OUR COUNTRY

Its Past, Present, and Future, and What the Scriptures Say of It

BY L. A. SMITH

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PREFACE

THAT the United States is a great and powerful nation, and has arisen in a wonderful manner, are facts familiar to all intelligent people. Perhaps but few, however, have paused to reflect upon the unique position occupied by the great republic of North America among all the powers that have ever arisen upon the earth. For it is a fact that this nation, both in its history and character, has had no parallel among earthly governments since time began.

Never before has the political history of mankind furnished a spectacle to compare with the growth of this nation, from infancy at the beginning of the nineteenth century, to the giant proportions which it presents to-day. Considering its extent of territory, its population, the educational and political privileges enjoyed by all its people, and its wealth and resources, it may well be argued that the United States is the greatest nation upon the earth to-day, or, for that matter, the greatest that earth has ever known. Certainly, the fact that its present position of eminence, if not of preeminence, has been attained by this nation in but little more than a century of time from its birth, must be counted indisputably as the political phenomenon of the ages.

And this greatness has been attained in a quiet and peaceful manner, in contrast with the wars of conquest which have marked the rise of other powerful nations either of the present or of the past.

Nor has there been any other nation which was dedicated at its birth to the proposition that all men are created equal. The foundation upon which this nation was laid represented

"a new order of things" among human systems of government. Never before was there a nation which in its highest law expressly recognized the inalienable right of all its citizens to civil and religious freedom.

Never before was there a country to which the people of every land have flocked as they have to this. America has become the melting-pot of the nations, and as such has exerted, through its principles of government, a vastly greater political influence upon the world than has ever been exerted by any other country.

Would it then be unreasonable to expect that inspired prophecy, which has delineated the course of other and lesser nations, should have something to say regarding the career of this great republic?

If the past history of this nation has been so striking, what of its future? If the God of heaven had a design in bringing this nation into existence, what was that design? and is our country fulfilling its appointed mission? or are there influences at work which threaten to divert it from its proper pathway and finally to wreck its career? It is easy to indulge in speculation concerning the future of this country; but let not the reader think that we would spend our own time in the writing, or ask anybody to spend their time in the reading, of statements having no more solid foundation than speculation and guesswork. We shall not need to go outside the sober realm of fact, substantiated by the best human authorities and by Scripture, to arrive at results which will greatly interest and perhaps startle us, in the course of this investigation.

Inspired prophecy does not all relate to the past. We have reached to-day the most wonderful period known to human history, a time marked by the spirit of intensity, when great world changes are taking place with unprecedented

rapidity. The present age, indeed, seems to be illuminated by the light of current prophetic fulfilments above all others. Here we find the most emphatic touches of the inspired pencil; and the events to transpire and the agents therein concerned are brought out in a most vivid and startling light. Has the United States any part to act in these scenes? What do the Scriptures say on this question? If the inspired volume does speak upon this subject, no patriotic American can fail to be interested in the presentation of its testimony; and the fact that many thousands of candid and intelligent people in this country and in Europe have become convinced that this nation is so mentioned, is certainly a good reason why others who have any interest as to what the truth may be, should take the trouble to investigate the subject for themselves.

Finally, we wish to assure the reader that this volume would not have been written if in the mind of the writer it dealt with a subject of merely academic interest. We believe, on the contrary, that its theme is one of the highest practical importance. It brings the reader face to face with serious questions of his personal relation to vital issues of the day, and of his attitude toward movements which, if the views presented in the following pages are correct, are of momentous importance both to the state and to the individual citizen; information respecting which is necessary to an understanding of our duties and responsibilities in the solemn and important times that are upon us. With this thought we commend it to the candid and serious attention of the reader.

L. A. S.

Nashville, Tenn.
April, 1914.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

PAGE

THE WORLD WONDERS AND PROPHESIES - - - - - 19
A New World Power — Ten Striking Features of American History — Notable Statements and Predictions Made by Sir Thomas Browne, Burnaby, John Adams, Galiani, Adam Smith, Governor Pownal, David Hartley, Count d' Aranda, Bishop of St. Asaph, De Tocqueville, Geo. Alfred Townsend, and J. M. Foster — A Thrilling Question.

CHAPTER II

THE PROGRESS OF A CENTURY - - - - - - - - 30
Growth of the United States — Testimony of the *Dublin Nation* — Increase of Territory and Population — New York at the Head of World Ports — Industrial Growth — Statistics of National Wealth — Crop Statistics — National Credit — Wonders of American Progress — A Figure in World Politics.

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE - - - - - 58
Safeguards for Civil and Religious Freedom — The Nation Founded by Lovers of Liberty — Republicanism the Magnet of Immigration — Stability of the Government — "The Model Republic" — America in the Scale of the Centuries — America's Mission as an Evangelizer — Purpose of the National Resources — Elements of American Greatness.

CHAPTER IV

THE HAND OF PROVIDENCE - - - - - - - - 80
Reasons for Regarding the United States as a Subject of Bible Prophecy — Bible Symbols of Other Governments — Application of Bible Symbols to Old World Powers — No Application in Old World for Two-Horned Symbol of Revelation 13 — Two Suppositions.

CHAPTER V

PROPHECY SPEAKS, AND WHAT IT SAYS - - - - - 87
Line of Prophecy to Which the Two-Horned Symbol of Revelation 13 Belongs — The Prophecy Examined —

Identification of the Great Red Dragon and the Leopard Beast — The Leopard Beast Identical with the "Little Horn" of Daniel 7.

CHAPTER VI

LOCATION OF THE GOVERNMENT REPRESENTED BY THE SECOND SYMBOL OF REVELATION 13 - - - - - - 99

The "False Prophet"—The Two-Horned Symbol Not Applicable to Rome — Distinction Between Dragon and Leopard Beast — Government Represented by Two-Horned Symbol not Located in Eastern Hemisphere — Location of Territory of Old World Kingdoms — Significance of Rise of Two-Horned Beast Out of the Earth — Location of Two-Horned Beast in Western Hemisphere — The Eyes of Europe upon America.

CHAPTER VII

CHRONOLOGY OF THE GOVERNMENT: WHEN MUST IT ARISE? 113

Wounding of the Head of the Leopard Beast Fulfilled by Overthrow of Papacy in 1798 — Rise of the Two-Horned Beast — Testimony of Litch and Wesley — Three Declarations from Revelation — Summing Up of Argument on Chronology of Two-Horned Beast.

CHAPTER VIII

THE UNITED STATES HAS ARISEN IN THE EXACT MANNER INDICATED BY THE SYMBOL - - - - - - 126

The Two-Horned Beast Arose Out of the Earth Instead of from the Sea — Wars of the United States Have not Been Wars of Conquest — The Silent, Plant-like Growth of this Nation — The Prediction of the Prophecy Fulfilled — The United States Has "Come Up" with Marvelous Rapidity — A Prodigy Not Overlooked by Prophecy.

CHAPTER IX

THE TWO GREAT PRINCIPLES OF THIS GOVERNMENT - - 135

Lamblike Horns of the Second Symbol of Revelation 13 — Significance of a Horn as Used in Scripture — "A Church without a Pope and a State without a King"— The United States a Land of Civil and Religious Freedom — Republicanism and Protestantism the Two Great Principles in American Government — They Correspond to the Lamblike Horns of the Symbol — The Symbol Speaks with the Voice of a Dragon.

CHAPTER X

"He Spake as a Dragon" - - - - - - - - 145
Specifications to Which the Government Symbolized by the Two-Horned Beast Must Conform — The Dragon Spirit — Persecution in the United States Not Impossible — Political Corruption in the United States — The Catholic Federation: Organization, Character, and Aims — Efforts to Debar Anti-Catholic Literature from the U. S. Mails — New American Cardinals Created and Received in the U. S. with Unprecedented Honors—"Spiritual Officers of the Government"— Papal Program "to Make America Catholic"— Progress in Romanizing the United States — Catholic Church Statistics — Rome's Attitude Toward Popular Government — Quotation from the *Morning Star* — The "Christian Nation" Decision by the United States Supreme Court — Means Employed by Rome to Gain Power in the United States — U. S. Government Business Suspended at Cardinal Gibbons' Jubilee —"Thanksgiving Mass" at Washington — Protests by Protestant Bodies.

CHAPTER XI

Miracles Revived: By Whom? - - - - - - - 185
The Two-Horned Beast and the Leopard Beast are Distinct and Contemporary Powers — Wonders of the Present Age — The Spirits of Devils Working Miracles to Deceive — Satan to Work with Special Power in the Last Days — Spiritualism a Satanic Delusion — Modern Spiritualism: Its Rise in the United States; Number of Its Adherents, Which Includes Eminent Men in America and Europe — The Coming "Hour of Temptation."

CHAPTER XII

"An Image to the Beast" - - - - - - - - 199
The Two-Horned Symbol Must Designate a Republic — The Papacy Defined — Points upon Which the Protestant Churches Can Unite — Fallen State of Protestantism To-day — Influence of Modern Science and the Higher Criticism — God's Children to Be Called Out from the Popular Churches — How the "Image" Might Be Formed.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SUNDAY QUESTION - - - - - - - - 208

The Issue before Us — Worship of the Beast and His Image a Great Offense against God — The Mark of the Beast Defined — Special Characteristics of the Papacy — Papal Attempt to Change the Law of God — The "Man of Sin" — Two Laws Demanding Obedience — The Bible and Catechism Compared — The Papal Church Expressly Claims to Have Changed the Fourth Commandment — Testimony from Catholic Catechisms — The Sabbath Not Changed by Christ — The Reformation Not Yet Complete — Position of the Sabbath Commandment in God's Law — Who Have the Mark of the Beast? — The Issue between the Worship of God and the Worship of the Beast.

CHAPTER XIV

SHADOWS OF THE COMING STORM - - - - - 230

Union of Church and State in this Country Long Predicted — The Rise of Church Federation — The National Reform Association: Its Origin, Aims, and Progress — Ecclesiasticism and Secularism Struggling for the Mastery — Inconsistency of the Religious Amendment Idea — The Church Defining Heresy and the State Punishing It Will Be an Image of the Papacy — Bearing of the Movement on the Sunday Question — Only Christians to be Eligible to Public Office — National Reform World Conferences — Sentiment against Seventh-day Observers — No Parallel between Sabbath-keeping and Polygamy — Sunday Enforcement as a Political Issue — Agitation for Sunday Enforcement in Foreign Countries — Sophistry in Support of Sunday Laws — Seventh-day Observers Advised to Get Out of the Community — Religious Discrimination in Sunday Laws — The Platform of Liberalism — The Christian Church Becoming a Political Machine — "A Second Irrepressible Conflict" — Public Sentiment Growing in Favor of a Religious Amendment to the Constitution — Roman Catholic Attitude toward Sunday Enforcement — Protestants Becoming Friendly to Rome — Secular Anti-Sunday Movements — Proper Reform Legislation

— Evils of National Reform Discerned by Some — Sophistry in the Plea for the "Christian Amendment" — National Reform against the Declaration of Independence — Proper Sphere of the State — The "Civil" Sunday Argument — Religious Persecution Impending — Inspired Prophecy Certain of Fulfilment — The Mark of the Beast in the Forehead and in the Hand — The Number of the Beast.

CHAPTER XV

NATIONAL APOSTASY - - - - - - - - - 296

Proper Spheres of the Church and of the State — Government by Consent of the Governed Repudiated on the Floor of Congress — A Government of Persons vs. a Government of Laws — Class Antagonism in the U. S. — Testimony of Judge Edgar M. Cullen — The Platform of Apostasy — This Country Entering a New Political Pathway — Odium Cast on Declaration of Independence — The Federal Constitution Declared to Be Obsolete — Passing of the Day of Individualism.

CHAPTER XVI

CHURCH FEDERATION - - - - - - - - - 312

A Great Federation of Protestant Churches — "Interchurch Conference on Federation" — Organization of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America — Purposes of the Organization — The Federation Joins Hands with the Workingmen — Resolutions on Sunday Observance — Attempt by Resolution to Preserve Religious Freedom of Seventh-day Baptists in the Federation — Sharp Discussion Follows, Exhibiting Animus of the Federal Council toward Seventh-day Observers — The Resolution Voted Down — The Federal Council Aims at a Religious Monopoly — Will Unite with the Church of Rome — Repudiates the Word "Protestant" — The "Religious Citizenship League" Formed — Protestants, Romanists, and Labor Unions Uniting on Sunday Observance.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CHRISTIAN CITIZENSHIP MOVEMENT - - - - - 345

The Protestant Bodies Permeated with the Idea of Christian Citizenship — Aims of the Movement — Has No Support in Scripture — The Church Can Not Save

the World by the Ballot — Result of Worldliness in the Church — More Danger from Sin than from Crime — God is More Concerned over Conditions in the Church than over Conditions in the State — No Spiritual Potency in a Governmental Profession of Christianity — What the Result Will Be — The Idea of the Movement Not a New One.

CHAPTER XVIII

"CHRISTIAN CIVIL GOVERNMENT" - - - - - - 358
"Christian Civil Government" Necessarily Means Enforced Religion — Theory of the State's Moral Personality Not Sound — Civil Government Can Not Be Christian — Distinction between Spheres of Civil Government and of Religion — Christianity Designed Only to Save One from His Own Sins — The Individual First in God's View — Result of Attempt of the State to Practise Christianity — Proper Civil Government Not Anti-Christian but Non-Christian — The Tree Known by Its Fruits.

CHAPTER XIX

PRACTICAL WORKINGS - - - - - - - - - 371
Sunday-Law Prosecutions in Arkansas, Tennessee, and Other States — Efforts to Secure Sunday Legislation from Congress — Reason for the Defeat of These Efforts.

CHAPTER XX

EPILOGUE - - - - - - - - - - - - 385
Inventions of the Nineteenth Century — Closing Reflections — The Argument Summed Up — History of the Movement for Religious Legislation in the U. S. — Sunday Closing of the Chicago World's Fair, St. Louis Exposition, and Jamestown Exposition — Religious Measures Pressed upon Congress — The People to Be Warned.

APPENDIX - - - - - - - - - - - - 413
The Progress of a Century — Petitions Against Religious Legislation — Governor Sulzer, Tammany Hall, and the Roman Catholic Church — The United States and Mexico — Civil War in Colorado.

ILLUSTRATIONS

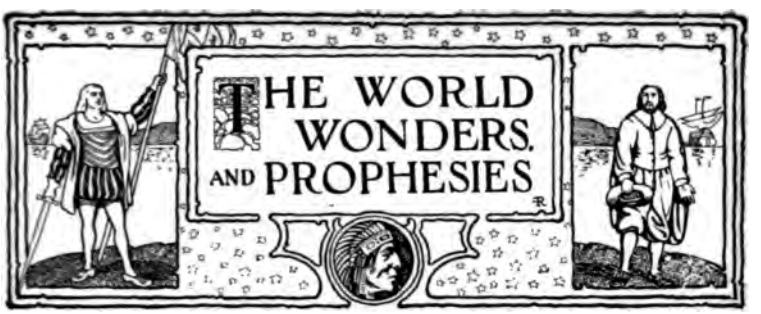
	Page
Aboriginal America	*Frontispiece*
Christopher Columbus	20
Columbus Landing on Shores of New World	21
Amerigo Vespucci	22
Facsimile of Columbus' Flagship, the "Santa Maria"	24
Buffalo Herd, Yellowstone National Park	25
Dr. S. F. Smith, Author of the Words of the National Anthem	28
Mammoth Hot Springs, Yellowstone National Park	33
A Street in the Nation's Metropolis	37
Magnitude of Leading Railway Lines of World	39
Yearly Tonnage of Freight Carried	39
Threshing on a Western Farm	43
Sugar Cane Field, Louisiana	46
"The Sweetest Spot on Earth." The Sugar Levee at New Orleans	47
A Steel Grain Elevator at Superior, Wisconsin	49
A New York City Residence in the Early Days	50
The Seven Million Dollar Residence of Senator Clark, New York City	51
View in the Great Steel Works at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania	54
West Point on the Hudson	55
United States Battleship Fleet Leaving Hampton Roads, Virginia	56
An Automobile Boat	57
Entrance to Gatun Locks, Panama Canal	60
Admitting Water into Gatun Locks, Panama Canal	61
Relief Map of the Panama Canal Zone	62, 63
Colonel George W. Goethals, Builder of the Panama Canal	62
Colonel W. C. Gorgas, Chief Sanitary Officer of the Canal Zone	63
Removing the Last Earth Barrier in the Canal Against the Waters of the Pacific	65
Independence Hall, Philadelphia	68
Morning Eagle Falls, Glacier National Park	71
Landing of the Pilgrims, Dec. 21, 1620	74
Among the Giant Redwoods of California	76
A Train on the New York Central Railroad in 1831	79
Ruins of the City of Babylon	82

RUINS OF THE TOWER OF BABEL - - - - - - 84
TERRITORY COVERED BY THE GREAT EMPIRES OF BIBLE PROPHECY - - - - - - - - - - 86
THE BEAST WITH TWO HORNS (REV. 13:11) - - 88
THE WOMAN OF REV. 12:1 - - - - - - - 90
THE GREAT RED DRAGON OF REV. 12:3, 4 - - - 92
THE LEOPARD BEAST OF REV. 13:1-3 - - - - 94
A VETERAN OF THE CIVIL WAR - - - - - 98
CASCADE IN GLACIER NATIONAL PARK - - - - 100
REV. T. DE WITT TALMAGE - - - - - - 102
GATEWAY TO GARDEN OF THE GODS, COLORADO - - 104
ENTRANCE TO A COLORADO GOLD MINE - - - 106
BLACKFOOT GLACIER, GLACIER NATIONAL PARK - - 109
CATHEDRAL SPIRES, GARDEN OF THE GODS, COLORADO - 111
FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON - - - - - - - 114
ST. PETER'S CHURCH AND THE VATICAN - - - 116
POPE PIUS VI. TAKEN PRISONER BY MARSHAL BERTHIER 118
THE THIRD ANGEL OF REV. 14:9-12 - - - - 121
PARADE OF UNITED STATES WARSHIPS - - - 125
FALLS OF THE YELLOWSTONE - - - - - - 127
SOUTH DOME AND VERNAL FALLS - - - - - 128
AN AMERICAN SMELTER IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS - 130
ROYAL GORGE, COLORADO - - - - - - - 131
WOOLWORTH BUILDING, NEW YORK CITY - - - 132
SUNSET ON LAKE MACDONALD - - - - - 134
EMERALD BAY, LAKE TAHOE - - - - - - 136
CAMP ON TWO MEDICINE LAKE - - - - - 137
A LOGGING CAMP - - - - - - - - - - 140
A LOG RAFT - - - - - - - - - - 141
DRESS PARADE, UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY - - 142
A FLORIDA ORANGE GROVE - - - - - - 143
SUBMARINE BOAT OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY - - 144
CATTLE HERDING ON A TEXAS PRAIRIE - - - 146
RIFLING A GUN IN THE GUN SHOPS - - - - 148
PACKING ORANGES - - - - - - - - - 150
CHAS. I. DENECHAUD, OF NEW ORLEANS - - - - 152
ANTHONY MATRE, OF ST. LOUIS - - - - - 153
BISHOP MC FAUL, OF TRENTON, N. Y. - - - - 154
EDWARD FEENEY, OF BROOKLYN, N. Y. - - - 155
BISHOP MESSMER, OF MILWAUKEE - - - - 156
CARDINALS VANNUTELLI AND FARLEY, ARRIVING IN NEW YORK CITY - - - - - - - - - - 159
PRESIDENT TAFT, ARRIVING AT ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH 160

CARDINAL GIBBONS, OF BALTIMORE - - - - - 162
ARCHBISHOP IRELAND, OF ST. PAUL - - - - - 164
CARDINAL O'CONNELL, OF BOSTON - - - - - - 166
PROCESSION AT THE JUBILEE OF CARDINAL GIBBONS - 169
MONSIGNOR FALCONIO - - - - - - - - 171
KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS - - - - - - - 175
MILITARY FIELD MASS AT THE BROOKLYN NAVY YARD - 178
ARCHBISHOP BONZANO - - - - - - - 180
THE PAPAL LEGATION AT WASHINGTON - - - 181
THE OLD LIBERTY BELL - - - - - - - 184
EMPIRE STATE EXPRESS - - - - - - - 188
THE LATE W. T. STEAD - - - - - - - 191
SIR OLIVER LODGE - - - - - - - - 192
CAMILLE FLAMMARION - - - - - - - 193
THE FOX SISTERS, OF HYDESVILLE, N. Y. - - - 195
THE LATE DR. I. K. FUNK - - - - - - 196
"CHRISTIAN SCIENCE" CHURCH, BOSTON - - - 197
ELECTRIC ENGINE - - - - - - - - 198
HOMES OF THE CLIFF DWELLERS - - - - - 202
UPPER FIRE HOLE, NEAR "OLD FAITHFUL" GEYSER - 213
TRANSPORTING A 13-INCH GUN - - - - - 221
GATHERING A GEORGIA PEACH CROP - - - - 225
A VISTA IN THE GRAND CANYON OF THE COLORADO - 228
GLACIER POINT, YOSEMITE VALLEY - - - - 229
REV. HENRY COLLIN MINTON - - - - - 233
REV. J. S. MARTIN - - - - - - - - 235
REV. J. S. MCGAW - - - - - - - - 239
REV. R. C. WYLIE - - - - - - - - 243
GEORGE WASHINGTON - - - - - - - 246
THOMAS JEFFERSON - - - - - - - - 247
PATRICK HENRY - - - - - - - - - 249
JAMES MADISON - - - - - - - - 251
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN - - - - - - - 253
FORD THEATER, WASHINGTON, D. C. - - - - 254
ABRAHAM LINCOLN - - - - - - - - 255
U. S. GRANT - - - - - - - - - 257
SENATOR ELIHU ROOT, OF NEW YORK - - - - 259
REPRESENTATIVE RICHARD BARTHOLDT, OF MISSOURI - 263
SENATOR W. B. HEYBURN, OF IDAHO - - - - 267
REPRESENTATIVE MCMILLAN, OF NEW YORK - - 271
EX-SENATOR J. W. BAILEY, OF TEXAS - - - - 275
SENATOR BORAH, OF IDAHO - - - - - - 279
SENATOR JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS, OF MISSISSIPPI - - 283

EX-PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT - - - - 287
WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN - - - - - - - - 291
SENATOR PLATT, OF CONNECTICUT - - - - - 298
SENATOR HOAR, OF MASSACHUSETTS - - - - - 299
THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT - - - - 305
REV. WILLIAM H. ROBERTS, D. D., LL. D. - - - 315
BISHOP E. R. HENDRIX - - - - - - - - 319
DR. SHAILER MATHEWS - - - - - - - - 323
REV. CHARLES L. STELZLE - - - - - - - 327
FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES IN SESSION - - - 331
REV. C. S. MACFARLAND, D. D. - - - - - - 333
REV. F. M. NORTH, D. D. - - - - - - - 335
REV. ELIAS B. SANFORD, D. D. - - - - - - 337
DR. WALTER RAUSCHENBUSCH - - - - - - 339
REV. W. D. P. BLISS - - - - - - - - 341
REV. JOSIAH STRONG - - - - - - - - - 343
REV. H. K. CARROLL - - - - - - - - 344
ORANGE PICKING SCENE AT ORMOND, FLORIDA - - 347
CHRIST CLEANSING THE TEMPLE - - - - - 352
MC DERMOTT FALLS AND GRINNELL MOUNTAIN - - 359
CRATER LAKE, OREGON - - - - - - - - 363
OLD CREOLE CEMETERY, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA - 367
"DOWN UPON THE SUWANEE RIVER," FLORIDA - - 370
IN JAIL FOR THE "CRIME" OF OBEYING THE FOURTH COMMANDMENT - - - - - - - - - 374
PERSONS TRIED FOR PICKING STRAWBERRIES ON SUNDAY 376
THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON - - - - - - 380
SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE - 381-384
STEAM GANG PLOW OF THE PRESENT DAY - - - 386
AEROPLANE AND AUTOMOBILE IN RACE - - - - 387
WILBUR WRIGHT - - - - - - - - - 388
ORVILLE WRIGHT - - - - - - - - - - 389
UNITED STATES WIRELESS STATION AT RADIO, VIRGINIA 390
RECEIVING ROOM OF WIRELESS STATION - - 391
SAMUEL GOMPERS - - - - - - - - - 397
REV. F. E. CLARK - - - - - - - - - 401
MRS. LILLIAN M. N. STEVENS - - - - - - 403
JUSTICE DAVID J. BREWER - - - - - - - 405
BISHOP EARL CRANSTON - - - - - - - - 407
THE LATE SENATOR JOSEPH F. JOHNSTON, OF ALABAMA 409
THE "STAR-SPANGLED BANNER" - - - - - - 417
OLD FORT MCHENRY - - - - - - - - 417
FRANCIS SCOTT KEY - - - - - - - - - 420

MRS. MARY PICKERSGILL - - - - - - - 421
HOUSE WHERE ORIGINAL "STAR-SPANGLED BANNER" WAS MADE - - - - - - - - - 423
EX-GOVERNOR SULZER, OF NEW YORK - - - - 445
UNITED STATES EMBASSY, MEXICO CITY - - - 455
CHAPULTEPEC CASTLE, THE GIBRALTAR OF MEXICO - 457
CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL, MEXICO CITY - - - - 459
PORFIRIO DIAZ - - - - - - - - - 461
COMPANY OF THE FAMOUS MEXICAN RURALES - - 463
FRANCISCO MADERO - - - - - - - - 464
VICTORIANO HUERTA - - - - - - - - 465
FIGHTING IN MEXICO CITY - - - - - - 467
SPOT WHERE PRESIDENT MADERO AND VICE-PRESIDENT SUAREZ WERE MURDERED - - - - - - 467
VIEW OF VERA CRUZ - - - - - - - - 471
TAMPICO, MEXICO - - - - - - - - 471
OFFICE OF THE MEXICAN *Herald* - - - - 473
FATE OF AMERICAN RESIDENCES UNDER HUERTA'S REGIME - - - - - - - - - - 474
SENDING TROOPS ASHORE FROM U. S. FLEET AT VERA CRUZ - - - - - - - - - - 475
A TORPEDO BOAT OF THE U. S. FLEET - - - - 475
PRESIDENT HUERTA AND HIS CABINET - - - 477
U. S. TROOPS HAULING FIELD ARTILLERY - - - 477
U. S. TROOPS HOLDING GOVERNMENT BUILDING AT VERA CRUZ - - - - - - - - - 479
MEXICAN FEDERAL SOLDIERS - - - - - - 479
REAR-ADMIRAL FLETCHER - - - - - - - 480
GENERAL FREDERICK FUNSTON - - - - - 481
MEDIATION CONFERENCE AT NIAGARA FALLS - - 482
GENERAL VENUSTIANO CARRANZA - - - - - 483
SECRETARY BRYAN AND AMERICAN CONSUL-GENERAL SILLIMAN - - - - - - - - - 484
FRANCISCO VILLA AND GENERAL ORTEGO - - - 485
U. S. MARINES REEMBARKING - - - - - - 486
CHURCH TOWER IN VERA CRUZ AFTER BOMBARDMENT 487
REAR-ADMIRAL BADGER, U. S. N. - - - - - 488
LIEUTENANT-COLONEL REBER - - - - - 489
A GROUP OF ARMED STRIKERS - - - - - - 493
STATE MILITIA BEING RUSHED INTO LUDLOW - - 495
MINE GUARDS SHOOTING AT STRIKERS - - - - 496
NEW MACHINE GUN USED BY U. S. TROOPS - - 497
OFFICIALS OF THE UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA 499



CHAPTER I

SUDDENLY a new "World Power" has arisen upon the horizon of nations. That power is the "United States of America." Suddenly, we say, even if we date from the very hour of its birth; for it is but a little more than one hundred years since the nation known by this name began to exist. Scanning the history of nations in the past, a hundred years is not, comparatively speaking, a very long period. What nation ever made any very great impression upon the world in its first hundred years? Take Rome, the great iron Colossus, which for ages bestrode the nations of the earth,— what was Rome when but a hundred years of age?— Scarcely known outside the few provinces of Italy which then composed its uncertain territory.

It has not been so with this giant which has arisen in a new world. It preempted its own territory, by itself and for itself, out of savagery and chaos, and now waves its imperial banner, and lustily shouts its notes of challenge in no uncertain tones to the proudest and strongest national combinations of mankind.

Some of the nations which have been the leading nations of the earth are beginning to stagnate and decay. Statesmen speak of them as "decaying nations," but the eyes of all na-

Christopher Columbus

tions now turn with wonder and envy to this parvenu of the West, and desire friendship and alliance.

The nation originated in the spirit of progress and piety. Religious intolerance in the Old World, striking about in its usual sightless and senseless way, weaned many a vigorous and virile company from their native abode, and burned into their souls an undying love of civil and religious liberty. Dominated by these principles, they turned their eyes to the New World, and struck out for freedom to govern themselves as wisdom and experience might dictate, and to worship God according to his word and their own consciences.

These earnest people builded their altars along our Atlantic coast. The noble principles upon which they took their stand, and their generous spirit in opening their doors, and sending an invitation to the oppressed of all lands to share with them freely in the enjoyment of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," attracted associates from every direction, as recruits flocked to the standard of David in the cave of Adullam.

The result is a marvel; for now, in the place of the first few sparse settlements, a mighty nation, with a vast expanse

of territory, stretches from Plymouth Rock on the east to the Golden Gate on the west, and from regions arctic on the north to regions nearly torrid on the south, embracing more leagues of habitable land than Rome ruled over in its palmiest days. The government thus begotten and reared here holds a position of invincible independence and glory among the nations of the earth.[1]

Less than a century and a half ago, in 1776, with about three millions of people, the United States became an inde-

Columbus Landing on the Shores of the New World

pendent government. According to the census of 1912 it now has a population of over ninety-five and one-half million people, and a territory, including Alaska and its island possessions, of more than three and a half million square miles. Russia alone exceeds this nation in these particulars, hav-

[1] In a speech at the "Centennial Dinner" at the Westminster Palace Hotel, London, July 4, 1876, J. P. Thompson, LL. D., speaking of the United States, said: "They have proved the possibility of free, popular government upon a scale to which the Roman Republic of five hundred years was but a province."— *The United States as a Nation, p. xvii.*

ing 49,000,000 more people, and, including the vast and dreary regions of Siberia, nearly five million more square miles of territory.

Amerigo Vespucci, from whom the Western Hemisphere derived its name

Of all the nations on the globe whose laws are framed by legislative bodies elected by the people (if we except China, which is but just essaying the experiment of self-government), Brazil, which has the largest territory, has but little over three millions of square miles (3,219,000); and France, the next in population (38,517,975), has not, by many millions, so great a number of inhabitants as our country. So that in point of territory and population combined, it will be seen that the United States stands at the *head* of the *self-governing powers* of the earth.

Occupying a position altogether unique, this government excites equally the astonishment and the admiration of all beholders. The main features of its history are such as have had no parallel since the distinction of nations existed among men. They may be enumerated as follows:—

1. *Quiet manner of its rise.* No nation ever acquired so vast a territory in so quiet a manner.

2. *Peaceable means by which it rose.* No nation has

ever before risen to such greatness by means so peaceable.

3. *Rapid increase of strength and capital.* No nation before this has ever advanced so rapidly in all that constitutes national strength and capital.

4. *Short path to pinnacle of power.* No nation ever rose to such a pinnacle of power in a space of time so incredibly short.

5. *Unlimited resources developed.* No nation in so limited a time has developed such unlimited resources.

6. *Deep and broad foundations.* No nation has ever existed, the foundations of whose government were laid so broad and deep in the principles of justice, righteousness, and truth.

7. *Freedom of conscience.* No nation has ever existed in which men have been left so free to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences.

8. *Encouragement of arts and sciences.* In no nation, and in no age of the world, besides the present, have the arts and sciences so flourished, so many inventions been perfected, and so great successes been achieved in the arts of both peace and war, as in our own country during the last sixty years, and particularly during the last decade.

9. *Gospel free and churches untrammeled.* In no nation and in no age has the gospel found such freedom, and the churches of Christ had such liberty to enlarge their borders and develop their strength.

10. *Streams of immigration.* No age of the world has seen such an immigration as that which is now pouring into our borders from all lands,— the millions who have long groaned under despotic and tyrannical governments, and who now turn to this broad territory of freedom as the avenue of hope, the Utopia of the nations.

Facsimile of Columbus' Flagship, the "Santa Maria"

PREDICTIONS OF COMING GREATNESS

The most discerning minds have been intuitively impressed with the idea of the future greatness and power of this government. In view of the grand results developed, and developing, the discovery of America by Columbus, a little over four hundred years ago, is set down as "the greatest event of all secular history."

The progress of empire to this land was long ago expected.

Sir Thomas Browne, in 1682, predicted the growth of a power here which would rival the European kingdoms in strength and prowess.

In Burnaby's "Travels through the Middle Settlements of North America in 1759 and 1760," published in 1775, is expressed this sentiment:—

"An idea, strange as it is visionary, has entered into the minds of the generality of mankind, that empire is traveling westward; and everyone is looking forward with eager and impatient expectation to that destined moment when America is to give the law to the rest of the world."

John Adams, Oct. 12, 1775, wrote:—

"Soon after the Reformation, a few people came over into this New World for conscience' sake. Perhaps this apparently trivial incident may transfer the seat of empire to America."

Photo by Paul Thompson, N. Y.

Buffalo Herd, Yellowstone National Park

On the day after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, that is, July 5, 1776, he wrote:—

"Yesterday the greatest question was decided which was ever debated in America, and a greater, perhaps, never was, nor will be, decided among men."

In 1776, Galiani, a Neapolitan, predicted the "gradual decay" of European institutions, to renew themselves in America. In 1778, in reference to the question as to which

was to be the ruling power in the world, Europe or America, he said:—

"I will wager in favor of America."

Adam Smith, of Scotland, in 1776, predicted the transfer of empire to America.

Governor Pownal, an English statesman, in 1780, while our Revolution was in progress, predicted that this country would become independent, and that a civilizing activity, beyond what Europe could ever know, would animate it; and that its commercial and naval power would be found in every quarter of the globe. Again he said:—

"North America has advanced, and is every day advancing, to growth of state, with a steady and continually accelerating motion, of which there never has yet been any example in Europe."

David Hartley wrote from England, in 1777:—

"At sea, which has hitherto been our prerogative element, they [the United States] rise against us at a stupendous rate; and if we can not return to our old mutual hospitalities toward each other, a very few years will show us a most formidable hostile marine, ready to join hands with any of our enemies."

Count d'Aranda, one of the first Spanish statesmen, in 1783 thus wrote of this Republic:—

"This Federal Republic was born a pygmy, so to speak. It required the support and forces of two powers as great as Spain and France in order to attain independence. A day will come when it will be a giant, even a colossus, formidable in these countries."[1]

Sir Thomas Browne, referred to above, in 1684 published certain "Miscellany Tracts," one of which, entitled "The Prophecy," is the one which contains his reflections on

[1]These quotations are from an article by Hon. Charles Sumner, entitled "Prophetic Voices about America," published in the *Atlantic Monthly* of September, 1867.

the rise and progress of America. Dr. Johnson says of it: "Browne plainly discovers his expectation to be the same with that entertained lately with more confidence by Dr. Berkeley, that 'America will be the seat of the fifth empire.' " It is in verse, and the lines relating to America are:—

"When New England shall trouble New Spain,
When America shall cease to send out its treasure,
But employ it at home in American pleasure;
When the New World shall the Old invade,
Nor count them their lords, but their fellows in trade."
—*Duyckinck's American Literature, Vol. I, p. 179.*

In 1773 the Bishop of St. Asaph (Wales), before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, said:—

"The colonies of North America have not only taken root and acquired strength, but seem hastening, with an accelerated progress, to such a powerful state as may introduce a new and important change in human affairs."—*Id.*

The transfer of religion to this land, and its revival here, was also expected. George Herbert, in a poem entitled "The Church Militant," published in 1633, said:—

"Religion stands on tiptoe in our land,
Ready to pass to the American strand."
—*Id.*

Of these prophecies, some are now wholly fulfilled, and the remainder far on the road to fulfilment. This infant of yesterday stands forth to-day a giant, vigorous, active, and courageous, and accepts with dignity its manifest destiny at the head of powers and civilizations.

A QUESTION OF PROPHECY

A question of thrilling interest now arises. This government has received recognition at the hands of men sufficient to satisfy any ambition.

Dr. S. F. Smith, Author of the Words of the National Anthem

Does the God of heaven also recognize it, and has he spoken concerning it? In other words, does the prophetic pen, which has so fully delineated the rise and progress of all the other great nations of the earth, pass this one by unnoticed? What are the probabilities in this matter? As the student of prophecy, in common with all mankind, looks with wonder upon the rise and unparalleled progress of this nation, he can not repress the conviction that the hand of Providence has been at work in this quiet but mighty revolution. And this conviction he shares in common with others.

Governor Pownal, from whom a quotation has already been presented, speaking of the establishment of this country as a free and sovereign power, calls it —

"A revolution that has stronger marks of *divine interposition*, superseding the ordinary course of human affairs, than any other event which this world has experienced."

De Tocqueville, a French writer, speaking of our separation from England, says:—

"It might seem their folly, but was really their fate; or,

rather, *the providence of God*, who has doubtless a work for them to do in which the massive materiality of the English character would have been too ponderous a dead weight upon their progress."

Geo. Alfred Townsend, speaking of the misfortunes that have attended the other governments on this continent ("New World and Old," p. 635), says:—

"The history of the United States was separated *by a beneficent Providence* far from the wild and cruel history of the rest of the continent."

Again he says:—

"This hemisphere was laid away for no one race."

Rev. J. M. Foster, in a sermon before the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Cincinnati, Ohio, Nov. 30, 1882, bore the following explicit testimony to the fact that the hand of Providence had been remarkably displayed in the establishment of this government:—

"Let us look at the history of our own nation. The Mediator long ages ago prepared this land as the home of civil and religious liberty. He made it a land flowing with milk and honey. He stored our mountains with coal, and iron, and copper, and silver, and gold. He prepared our fountains of oil, planted our forests, leveled our plains, enriched our valleys, and beautified them with lakes and rivers. He guided the 'Mayflower' over the sea, so that the Pilgrim fathers landed safely on Plymouth Rock. He directed the course of our civilization, so that we have become a great nation."

CHAPTER II

WHEN, four centuries ago, the caravels of Columbus reached the waters of the western hemisphere, there was not the faintest prospect that with the lapse of only four hundred years there would exist upon this virgin continent one of the greatest, most enlightened, and most powerful nations that had ever risen since time began. Even when the thirteen colonies had achieved their independence, there was nothing to foreshadow the great republic stretching from ocean to ocean, and from Canada to the Caribbean, which is now designated by the name, the United States.

Every person whose reading is ordinarily extensive has something of an idea of what the United States is to-day geographically, industrially, and politically; he likewise has an idea, so far as words can convey it to his mind, of what this country was at the commencement of its history. The only object, then, in presenting statistics and testimony on this point, is to show that our rapid growth has struck mankind with the wonder of a constant miracle.

Said Emile de Girardin, in *La Liberte* (1868):—

"The population of America, not thinned by any conscription, multiplies with prodigious rapidity, and the day may before long be seen, when they will number sixty or eighty millions of souls. This parvenu [one recently risen to notice] is aware

of his importance and destiny. Hear him proudly exclaim, 'America for Americans!' . . .

"In view of his *unparalleled progress and combination,* what are the little toys with which we vex ourselves in Europe? What is this needle gun we are anxious to get from Prussia, that we may beat her next year with it? Had we not better take from America the principle of liberty she embodies, out of which have come her citizen pride, her gigantic industry, and her formidable loyalty to the destinies of her republican land?"

The *Dublin* (Ireland) *Nation,* as long ago as the year 1850, said:—

"In the East there is arising a colossal centaur called the Russian empire. With a civilized head and front, it has the sinews of a huge barbaric body. There one man's brain moves 70,000,000 [now 136,000,000.— *World Almanac*]. There all the traditions of the people are of aggression and conquest in the West. There but two ranks are distinguishable — serfs and soldiers. There the map of the future includes Constantinople and Vienna as outposts of St. Petersburg.

"In the West, an opposing and *still more wonderful American empire* is emerging. We islanders have no conception of the extraordinary events which amid the *silence of the earth* are daily adding to the power and pride of this gigantic nation. Within three years, territories more extensive than these three kingdoms [Great Britain, Ireland, and Scotland], France, and Italy put together, have been quietly, and in almost 'matter-of-course' fashion, annexed to the Union.

"Within seventy years, seventeen new sovereignties, the smallest of them larger than Great Britain, have peaceably united themselves to the Federation. No standing army was raised, no national debt was sunk, no great exertion was made, but there they are. And the last mail brings news of three more great States about to be joined to the thirty,— Minnesota in the northwest, Deseret in the southwest, and California on the shores of the Pacific. These three States will cover an area equal to one-half of the European continent."

Mitchell, in his School Geography (fourth revised edition), p. 101, speaking of the United States, says:—

"It presents the *most striking instance* of national growth *to be found in the history of mankind.*"

Professor Coolidge, of Harvard University, in his book, "The United States as a World Power" (p. 174), says:—

"The story of the recent marvelous prosperity of the United States has been told repeatedly, with fresh additions as the record of each year's success surpassed that of the previous one. Never, in the history of the world, has such a spectacle been witnessed on so tremendous a scale."

Touching on this point in his Thanksgiving proclamation for 1908, President Roosevelt said:—

"During the century and a quarter that has elapsed since our entry into the circle of independent peoples, we have grown and prospered in material things to a degree never known before, and not now known in any other country. The thirteen colonies which straggled along the seacoast of the Atlantic and were hemmed in but a few miles west of tide-water by the Indian-haunted wilderness, have been transformed into the mightiest republic which the world has ever seen. Its domains stretch across the continent from one to the other of the two greatest oceans, and it exercises dominion alike in the arctic and tropic realms. The growth in wealth and population has surpassed even the growth in territory."

Let us reduce these general statements to the more tangible form of facts and figures. A short time before the great Reformation in the days of Martin Luther, a little over four hundred years ago, this western hemisphere was discovered. The Reformation awoke the nations, fast fettered in the galling bonds of superstition, to the fact that it is the heaven-born right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. But rulers are loth to lose their power, and religious intolerance still oppressed the people. Under these circumstances, a body of religious heroes at length determined to seek in the wilds of America that measure of civil and religious freedom which

Mammoth Hot Springs, Yellowstone National Park

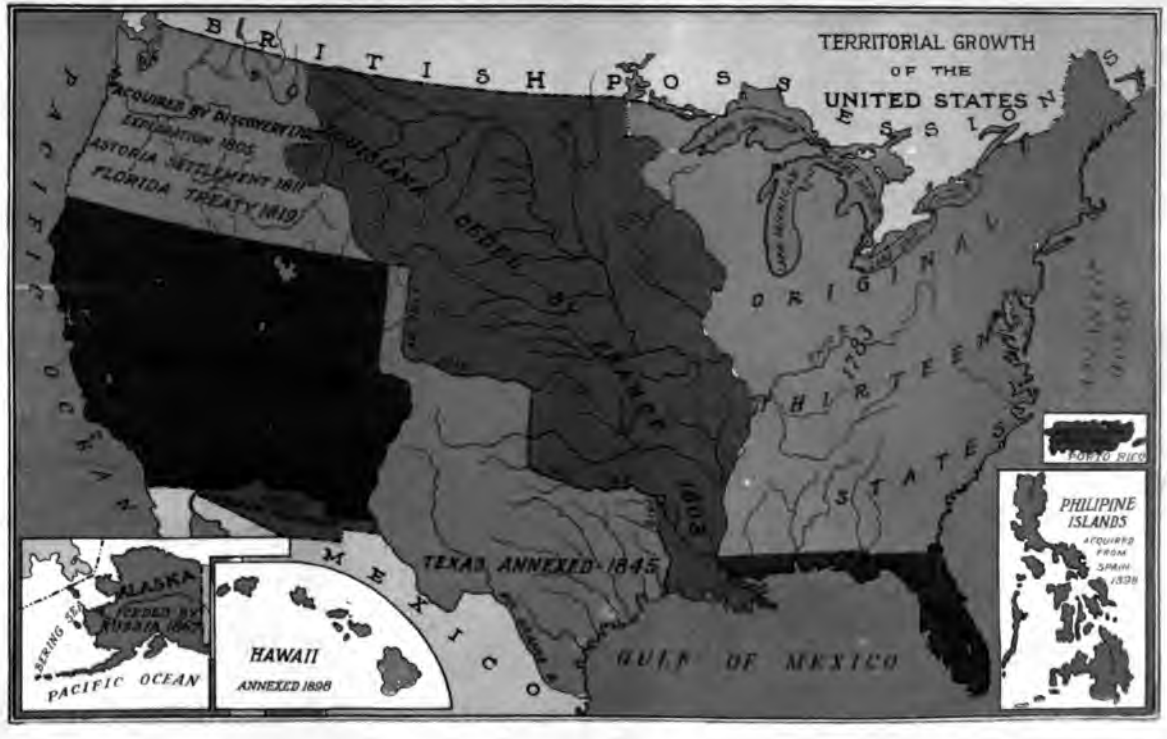
they so much desired. Dec. 27, 1620, the "Mayflower" landed one hundred of these voluntary exiles on the coast of New England. "Here," says Martyn, "New England was born," and this was "its first baby cry,— a prayer and a thanksgiving to the Lord."

Another permanent English settlement was made at Jamestown, Va., thirteen years before this, in 1607. In process of time other settlements were made and colonies organized, which were all subject to the English crown till the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.

The population of these colonies, according to the *United States Magazine,* amounted, in 1701, to 262,000; in 1749, to 1,046,000; in 1775, to 2,803,000. Then commenced the struggle of the American colonies against the oppression of the mother country. In 1776 they declared themselves, as in justice and right they were entitled to be, a free and inde-

pendent nation. In 1777 delegates from the thirteen original States,— New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia,— in Congress assembled, adopted Articles of Confederation. In 1783 the war of the Revolution closed with a treaty of peace with Great Britain, whereby our independence was acknowledged, and territory ceded to the extent of 815,615 square miles. In 1787 the Constitution was framed, and ratified by the foregoing thirteen States; and on the first day of March, 1789, it went into operation. Then the American ship of state was fairly launched, with less than one million square miles of territory, and about three million souls.

Such was the situation when our nation took its position of independence, as one of the self-governing powers of the world. Our territorial growth since that time has been as follows: Louisiana, acquired from France in 1803, comprising 930,928 square miles of territory; Florida, from Spain in 1819, with 59,268 square miles; Texas, admitted into the Union in 1845, with 237,504 square miles; Oregon, as settled by treaty in 1846, with 380,425 square miles; California, as conquered from Mexico in 1847, with 649,762 square miles; Arizona (New Mexico), as acquired from Mexico by treaty in 1854, with 27,500 square miles; Alaska, as acquired by purchase from Russia in 1867, with 577,390 square miles. This gives a grand total of three million, six hundred seventy-eight thousand, three hundred and ninety-two (3,678,392) square miles of territory, and if we add the 80,492 miles secured by the Spanish war, we have a total of 3,758,884 square miles, which is about four-ninths of all North America, and more than one-fifteenth of the whole land surface of the globe.


TERRITORIAL GROWTH
OF THE
UNITED STATES
BRITISH POSSESSIONS
ACQUIRED BY DISCOVERY OR EXPLORATION 1805
ASTORIA SETTLEMENT 1811
FLORIDA TREATY 1819
LOUISIANA CEDED BY FRANCE 1803
ORIGINAL THIRTEEN STATES 1783
TEXAS ANNEXED 1845
MEXICO
GULF OF MEXICO
PACIFIC OCEAN
ALASKA
CEDED BY RUSSIA 1867
BERING SEA
HAWAII
ANNEXED 1898
PHILIPINE ISLANDS
ACQUIRED FROM SPAIN 1898

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And while the United States has been thus rapidly growing, how has it been with the other leading nations of the globe? Macmillan & Co., the London publishers, in their "Statesman's Year Book" for 1867, make an interesting statement of the changes that took place in Europe during the half century between the years 1817 and 1867. They say:—

"The half century has extinguished three kingdoms, one grand duchy, eight duchies, four principalities, one electorate, and four republics. Three new kingdoms have arisen, and one kingdom has been transformed into an empire. There are now forty-one states in Europe against fifty-nine which existed in 1817. Not less remarkable is the territorial extension of the superior states in the world. Russia has annexed 567,364 square miles; the United States, 1,968,009; France, 4,620; Prussia, 29,781; Sardinia, expanding into Italy, has increased by 83,041; the Indian empire has been augmented by 431,616. The principal states that have lost territory are Turkey, Mexico, Austria, Denmark, and the Netherlands."

We ask the especial attention of the reader to these particulars. During the half century named, twenty-one governments disappeared altogether, and only three new ones arose. Five lost in territory instead of gaining. Only five, besides our own, added to their domain. And the one which did the most in this direction added only a little over half a million square miles, while we added nearly *two millions* of square miles. Thus the United States government added *over fourteen hundred thousand* square miles of territory more than any other single nation, and *over eight hundred thousand* more than were added during that time by all the other nations of the earth put together.

In point of population, our increase since 1798, according to the census of the several decades, has been as follows: In 1800, the total number of inhabitants in the United States was 5,305,925; in 1810, 7,239,814; in 1820, 9,638,191;

in 1830, 12,866,020; in 1840, 17,069,453; in 1850, 23,191,876; in 1860, 31,445,089; in 1870, 38,555,983; in 1880, 50,000,000; in 1910, 91,972,267; and with what has been acquired in recently added colonies, 103,992,757. These figures are almost too large for the mind to grasp readily. Perhaps a better idea of the rapidity of the increase of population may be gained by looking at a few representative cities: Boston, in 1792, had 18,000 inhabitants; the census of 1910 shows 670,585. New York, in 1792, 30,000; now about 4,766,883. Chicago, sixty years ago, was a little trading-post, with a few huts; yet it contained at the time of the great conflagration, in October, 1871, nearly 350,000 souls; and now the census gives the number as 2,185,283.

The nation's metropolis, New York City, now stands at the head of all world ports in the volume of its exports and imports. On this point the *Scientific American* (Sept. 6, 1913) published the following:—

"It will be a matter of surprise, perhaps, and certainly of some pleasure, to the citizens of New York, to learn that the very latest estimates of the value of the exports and imports of the ten leading ports of the world show that New York now stands at the head of the list, with an advantage of nearly two hundred million dollars over London. Our contemporary, the *Marine Review,* reminds us that New York's total of exports and imports, now valued at $1,973,981,693, is over five times the amount of commerce that was carried on by the entire country half a century ago.

"As to the future, there is one dominant factor, the Panama Canal, which is bound to strengthen the lead now secured by this port; for the canal will bring New York 1,600 miles nearer to Yokohama than is Liverpool; 2,500 miles nearer Sydney; 4,000 miles nearer Wellington, New Zealand, and 2,574 miles nearer Valparaiso. Bremen and Hamburg being some 500 miles further removed from the canal than Liverpool, it is evident that the new conditions — the general rearrangement of trade routes — will tend to strengthen the position of this port in its su-

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A Street in the Nation's Metropolis

In 1608 no structure bigger than an Indian hut had ever stood here.

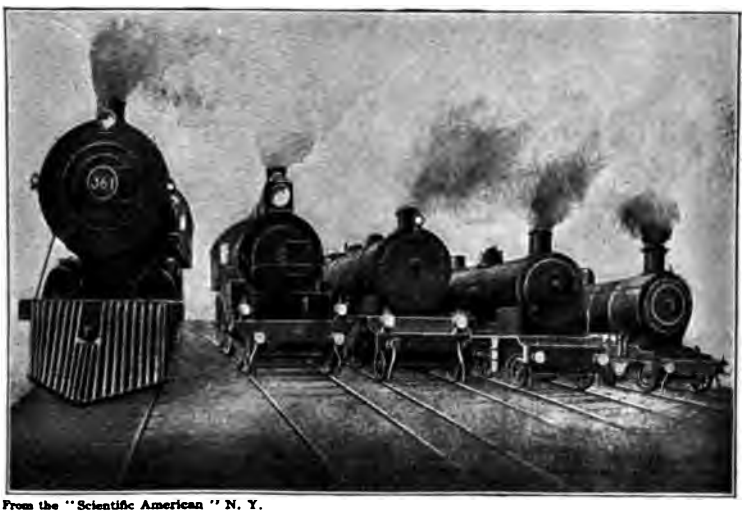
In 1708 this part of Broadway was a country road leading from the little trading town out to open farms.

In 1808 a building of two stories was dignified, and one of three stories was magnificent.

In 1908 a building of forty-six stories towers into the air, with room for 15,000 tenants, a fair-sized town in itself.

premacy over its nearest competitor. Expressed in round millions, the returns in value for the other leading ports are: London, 1,792 millions; Hamburg, 1,674 millions; Liverpool, 1,637 millions; Antwerp, 1,121 millions; Marseilles, 678 millions; Havre, 531 millions; Bremen, 501 millions; Buenos Ayres, 479 millions; and Calcutta, 410 millions."

The industrial growth of the country has been no less remarkable. In 1792 the United States had no cotton mills; in 1890 there were 225,759 looms, employing 174,652 hands. In 1900 the total wool clip in the United States was 288,636,621 pounds, with 17,938,000 spindles in operation. In railroads, the first timid experiment was a tramway in Quincy, Mass., built in 1826. Its only purpose was the easier conveyance of building stone from the granite quarries of Quincy to tide-water. Horses were used as the motive power. It was the germ, however, of a mighty movement in this country. "The first railway in America, for passengers and traffic,— the Baltimore & Ohio,— was chartered by the Maryland Legislature in March, 1827. The capital stock was at first only half a million dollars; and a portion of that was subscribed by the State and the city of Baltimore. Horses were its motive power, even after sixty-five miles of the road were built. But in 1829, Peter Cooper, of New York, built a locomotive in Baltimore, which weighed one ton, and made eighteen miles an hour on a trial trip to Ellicott's Mills. In 1830 there were twenty-three miles of railway in the United States, which was increased the next year to ninety-five; in 1835, to 1,098; in 1840, to nearly three thousand."—*Bryant's History of the United States, Vol. IV, p. 314.* In 1912, 359,030 miles of track had been laid (including double track and sidings). In 1912 the number of passengers carried was 1,019,658,605. The gross earnings in 1912 were two and three-quarter billions of dollars. Number of employees, 1,700,000.



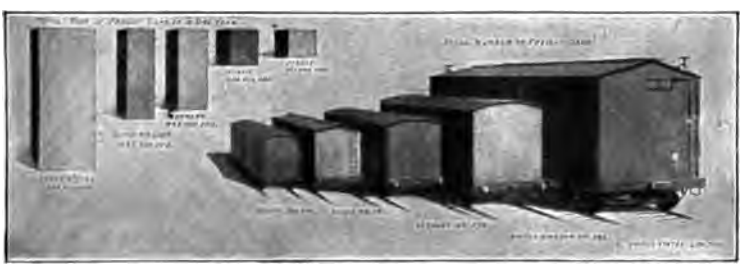
From the "Scientific American" N. Y.

Magnitude of Leading Railway Lines of the World, Represented by Size of Locomotives

First comes the United States, with 250,000 miles; next Russia, with 41,000 miles; next Germany, 37,000 miles; France, 30,000 miles; United Kingdom, 24,000 miles.

TELEGRAPH

It was not till as late as 1840 that the magnetic telegraph was invented. Now there are countless miles of wire in operation. The telephone dates from 1875; yet there are



From the "Scientific American," N. Y.

Yearly Tonnage of Freight Carried, and Number of Freight Cars, on Leading Railway Lines of the World, Indicated by Size of Blocks and Cars.

TONNAGE: United States, 1,533,000,000; United Kingdom, 497,000,000; Germany, 447,000,000; Russia, 200,000,000; France, 151,000,000. FREIGHT CARS: United States, 2,100,800; United Kingdom, 771,600; Germany, 491,600; Russia, 432,000; France, 318,500.

now (1910) 18,179,000 miles of wire in the United States devoted to that purpose. In 1833 the first reaping and mowing machine was constructed; and in 1847 the first sewing-machine was completed. Hundreds of thousands of both these classes of machines are now in use. And all these improvements are being multiplied by leaps and strides, in geometrical progression. New machines, and greater facilities for making them, larger plants for the manufacture of all classes of merchandise, and for handling and distributing the product, are busying the brains of men as never before. More gigantic engineering feats of spanning ravines, tunneling mountains, bridging bays and rivers, and canaling continents, than ever before attempted, are now being subjected to the plans of master mechanics; while more lines and miles of telegraph and telephone wires, miles of railroad track, and steamboat routes, are projected or in process of construction, than ever before came within the boundaries of men's wildest dreams.

Perhaps nothing will more clearly indicate the marvelous growth of this country than the following statements based upon a recently-published Statistical Abstract of the United States. The area of continental United States, says this authority, "was 843,255 square miles in 1800, advancing to 1,734,630 square miles in 1810; to 2,995,536 square miles in 1850, and 3,026,789 square miles in 1853, since which date no change in area is shown. The population, which was 5,333,333 in 1800, was 93,750,000 in 1911.

"The public debt, which was $83,000,000 in 1800, reached $2,675,000,000, less cash in Treasury, in 1865, the figures of 1911 being $1,015,000,000. The per capita debt, which was $15.63 in 1800, and in 1865, $76.98, was in 1911, $10.83. The interest charge per capita, which amounted to

sixty-four cents in 1800, and $4.12 in 1866, was in 1911 twenty-three cents, and the total annual interest charge, which was in 1866, $146,000,000, was in 1911, $21,333,333.

"Money in circulation, stated as $26,500,000 in 1800 was in 1911, $3,228,627,002, and the per capita in circulation, which was in 1800, $4.99, was in 1911, $34.35. Deposits in all banks in the country can not be shown earlier than in 1875, at which date they are set down as a little over $2,000,000,000, and in 1910, over $15,000,000,000.

"The number of depositors in savings banks in 1820, the earliest year for which the figures can be shown, was a little less than 9,000, and in 1910, over 9,000,000. Government receipts, which amounted to $2.04 per capita in 1800, were in 1866, $14.65, and in 1911, $7.45, or about one-half what they were in 1866. Exports of domestic merchandise, which amounted to $32,000,000 in value in 1800, were over $2,000,000,000 in 1911; and imports, which amounted to $91,000,000 in 1800, were $1,500,000,000 in 1911."

Regarding the increase of wealth the New York *World* recently published the following:—

"The incorporation in the United States during May [1911] of railroad, industrial, and other companies having a capital stock of $258,459,900, gives an idea of the wonderful commercial expansion of the country. Incidental testimony to the same effect is furnished by the speedy absorption by investors of the $10,000,000 issue of preferred stock put out by a new dry-goods combination. E. H. Harriman said to the newspaper men who asked him about the report that he was going abroad to dispose of $159,000,000 of bonds, 'I wouldn't have to go out of this house to do that in half an hour.'

"This is truly a million-dollar era. Where the last generation figured in millions, the common multiple of the present-day business world is $100,000,000. To what lengths is the multiplication of millions to go? Estates of $1,000,000 have dwindled by comparison to modest competencies. At the present rate of increase the 'swollen fortunes' of to-day may to-mor-

row excite no public concern, being dwarfed by the greater hoards heaped up and reduced to negligible consequence in the light of the graver problems in the regulation of capital which may then be expected to demand attention."

This increase of wealth is largely due to the marvelous increase in values of the country's agricultural products. "If you would know where the wealth of the nation is coming from," observes the Nashville (Tenn.) *Christian Advocate,* "ask Hon. James Wilson, Secretary of Agriculture in the Cabinets of Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft. He says that during the last ten years [1901-1911] the proceeds of farms in the United States have been $80,000,000,000, or enough to give more than $800 to every man, woman, and child in the country. This total is more than all the wealth of Great Britain, and during the decade would have paid almost ninety per cent of the salaries of all the governmental employees of all the nations of the world, and is equal to nine-tenths of the revenues of all these nations. The year 1910 brought from mother earth $9,000,000,000 for the people of the United States, or nearly $100 for every man, woman, and child of our country."

The principal crops of the United States are shown as to size by the following figures furnished by the Bureau of Statistics at Washington for the years 1909 and 1910:—

Crops	1910	1909
Corn, bushels	3,121,381,000	2,772,376,000
Wheat, bushels	691,769,000	737,189,000
Oats, bushels	1,096,396,000	1,007,353,000
Barley, bushels	158,138,000	170,284,000
Rye, bushels	32,088,000	32,239,000
Buckwheat, bushels	17,084,000	17,438,000
Flaxseed, bushels	15,050,000	25,856,000
Potatoes, bushels	328,787,000	376,537,000

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Threshing on a Western Farm

Hay, tons	60,116,000.....	64,938,000
Tobacco, pounds	967,150,000.....	949,357,000

The *Christian Herald* of Nov. 6, 1912, after giving the

figures showing the amount of the grain crop of that year, presents the following statements showing what is involved in taking care of this part of the immense harvest which is annually yielded in this country:—

"A writer in the New York *Times* gives some suggestive calculations covering this gigantic outcome of our agricultural industries. He shows that in handling this bumper crop, the farmers of the country have a task before them contrasted with which the movement of great armies seems like child's play. Hired hands — not regular employees — engaged for the harvest number 860,000, and this single division of the workers draws over $10,000,000 in pay for the short term of service. Then there are 1,130,000 farm laborers who are kept busy the year round. In the great Western States the men who own or rent grain land and who help in the harvest number some 2,240,000 more, thus bringing up the total of the harvest army to 4,230,000 men — greater by far than the largest army the world has ever seen.

"This giant working force uses in the field 9,500,000 horses and about 4,500,000 carts, harvesters, and other apparatus. If this vast train could be put in a single line, horses and machines, carts, wagons, etc., would string out over 25,854 miles, or considerable more than around the entire globe. As to the wheat crop alone, it would make a river of grain 100 to 125 feet wide, four feet deep, and reaching from New York to Chicago. All the ships in New York harbor, working steadily, would take two years to handle it.

"If we take the entire crops of six cereals, the dimensions of the problem are simply astounding. The writer makes this picturesque calculation:—

" 'If the attempt were made to store it all in downtown New York it would make a solid mountain more than 1,500 feet in height with sharply sloping sides and a base nearly a mile wide. The Stock Exchange would be buried under it. The peak of the thirty-nine story Bankers' Trust Building would be more than 700 feet from the surface. Wall Street and every building in it, every foot of lower Manhattan from the City Hall to the Battery sea-wall, would be buried under the sloping heap. The forty-one story Singer Building, four blocks north of the top of the pile, would be hidden, in spite of its 612 feet of height. Lower Broadway and all its buildings, Bowling

Green, the Custom House, the Battery, the North River piers, the docks of South Street, would all be swamped. Only a part of the Whitehall Building on the south and the new Woolworth tower at the north, with one or two neighboring skyscrapers, would show above the mass. The peak of it would overtop the Woolworth tower by over 500 feet. It would make a grain mountain higher than any other hill or headland within thirty miles of the Atlantic Coast south of New Hampshire.

" 'To move such a mass at one time would, of course, be impossible. Its weight would be 150,000,000 tons. It would require 7,500,000 freight cars of the large twenty-ton size to carry it, and 186,650 locomotives would be required to haul them.'

"On the farm, the value of the wheat crop is placed at $625,000,000, while corn, oats and barley bring up the total to $3,500,000,000. This is $250,000,000 more than the entire cost of the Civil War. The railroads handle it gradually. They receive $5,000,000 for freight in carrying the crop to the primary markets — the central selling points (Chicago, Duluth and Minneapolis) alone. Thence it is transshipped in the shape of flour, cornmeal, etc., to all parts of the country and to the ports for export. This means millions more in payment for freight.

"How does the farmer fare in these enormous transactions? He has borne all the heavy initial expense of cultivating and harvesting; he has patronized the bank to borrow money on his crop, and he has had to pay $10,000,000 to extra hired labor as we have already shown. But, when all has been done, when the bumper crop is marketed and moved and the returns come in, the farmer can pay all his bills out of hand, have his new piano, or automobile, or furniture; lay in his stock of goods at the stores, paying cash for everything, and yet have a substantial balance to put away in bank. It is then that the county and township banks are overflowing with money which they can send eastward again. Local stores find business booming and the whole country, especially the agricultural sections, basks in the prosperity which the bumper crop has been the means of bringing to pass."

The following statement regarding the credit of the United States appeared at the time the government gave the public an opportunity to subscribe for $50,000,000 worth of Panama Canal bonds:—

"The government's three per cent $50,000,000 Panama Canal

Sugar Cane Field, Louisiana

loan was three times oversubscribed, the bids opened last Saturday totaling about $170,000,000. The larger part of this issue will go to small bidders from every section of the country, and at a price of $102.50 and higher. The prices paid for the new bonds indicate that the national credit of the United States is the highest in the world."

The following figures relating to subway construction in the nation's metropolis afford some idea of the commercial expansion which has been characteristic of American cities:—

"Plans for new subway car lines in Greater New York call for a total outlay of $257,400,000, more than three times the amount spent on the present subway system. Of this total, the city is to expend $131,200,000; the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, $75,800,000; the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company, $50,400,000. Mayor Gaynor says this plan is 'the largest matter before any government in the world, national, state, or local, so far as I know, at the present time.' To provide better trans-

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"The Sweetest Spot on Earth." The Sugar Levee at New Orleans

portation facilities for the people of one city will call for an outlay almost equal to the expenditures of our government for the construction of the Panama Canal."

That our country is gaining in all that makes for material prosperity at a far more rapid rate than its population increases is shown in a statistical summary which gives the following percentages of gain for the years 1902 to 1912: Population increase, twenty per cent; money in circulation, forty-six per cent; deposits in savings banks, sixty per cent; imports of merchandise, eighty-three per cent; exports of merchandise, sixty per cent; exports of manufactures, one hundred and twenty-five per cent; production of coal, from 269,000,000 tons to 443,000,000 tons; iron, from 18,000,000 tons to 28,000,000 tons; cotton, from 10,800,000 bales to 16,300,000 bales (1911).

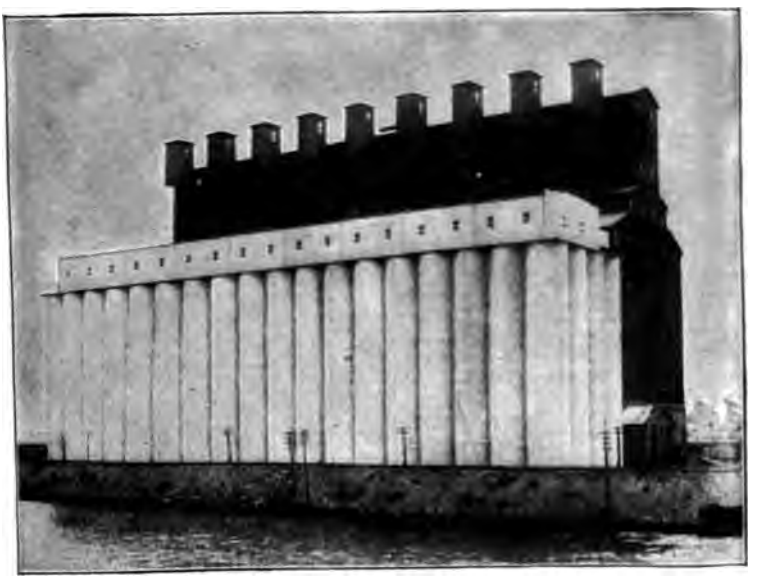
In the matter of education, which is so vitally related to

national prosperity, the United States makes a most favorable showing. We have more than 18,000,000 pupils in our public schools. We have 602 colleges, universities, and technological schools, with endowments amounting to $273,000,000, an annual expense account of $80,000,000, and over 300,000 pupils in attendance. Of the higher educational institutions, the churches of the United States foster 387, and they have an enrolment of 137,000 scholars.

"Although the United States," observes the St. Louis *Globe Democrat,* "has only about 5 per cent of the world's population, it produces 20 per cent of the world's wheat, 22 per cent of its gold, 33 per cent of its coal, 35 per cent of its manufactures, 38 per cent of its silver, 40 per cent of its pig iron, 42 per cent of its steel, 55 per cent of its copper, 60 per cent of its petroleum, 70 per cent of its cotton and 80 per cent of its corn. . . . Its aggregate wealth, which is approximately $130,000,000,000, is as great as the combined wealth of the United Kingdom and France, its two nearest rivals."

The extent to which this nation has "come up" is further shown by the influence which it is exerting on other nations. Speaking of America, Mr. Townsend, in the "New World and Old," p. 462, says:—

"Out of her discovery grew the European reformation in religion; out of our Revolutionary War grew the revolutionary period of Europe. And out of our rapid development among great States and happy people, has come an immigration more wonderful than that which invaded Europe from Asia in the latter centuries of the Roman empire. When we raised our flag on the Atlantic, Europe sent her contributions; it appeared on the Pacific, and all Orientalism felt the signal. They are coming in two endless fleets, and the highway is swung between the oceans for them to tread upon. We have lightened Ireland of half her weight, and Germany is coming by the village-load every day. England herself is sending the best of her workingmen,



A Steel Grain Elevator at Superior, Wis., Capable of Holding the Entire Wheat Crop of that State.

and in such numbers as to dismay her Jack Bunsbys. What is to be the limit of this mighty immigration?"

J. P. Thompson ("United States as a Nation," p. 180) says:—

"History gives examples of the migration of tribes and peoples for the occupation of new territories by settlement or conquest; but there is no precedent for a nation's receiving into its bosom millions of foreigners as equal sharers in its political rights and powers. With a magnanimity almost reckless, the United States has done this, and has survived. Immigration first assumed proportions worthy of note in the decade from 1830 to 1840, when it reached the figure of 599,000. In the decade from 1840 to 1850, it increased to 1,713,000; and the report of the Bureau of Statistics for 1874 gives for the ten calendar years from Jan. 1, 1864, to Dec. 31, 1873, inclusive, a net immigration of 3,287,994. [At the present time we are receiving more than a million immigrants yearly.] Compare these fig-

ures with the fact that the purchase of Louisiana, over a million square miles, brought with it scarcely twenty thousand white inhabitants, and nearly a million square miles acquired through Texas and the Mexican cessions brought only some fifty thousand, and it will be seen how much more formidable has been the problem of immigration than that of territory."

In the New York *Independent* of July 7, 1870, Hon. Schuyler Colfax, then Vice-President of the United States, glancing briefly at the past history of this country, said:—

"Wonderful, indeed, has been that history. Springing into life from under the heel of tyranny, its progress has been onward, with the firm step of a conqueror. From the rugged clime of New England, from the banks of the Chesapeake, from the savannas of Carolina and Georgia, the descendants of the Puritans, the Cavalier, and the Huguenot swept over the towering Alleghanies, but a century ago the barrier between civilization on the one side and almost unbroken barbarism on the other; and the banners of the Republic waved from flagstaff and highland, through the broad valleys of the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Missouri. Nor stopped its progress there. Thence onward poured the tide of American civilization and progress, over the vast regions of the Western plains; and from the snowy crests of the Sierras you look down on American States fronting the calm Pacific, an empire of themselves in resources and wealth, but loyal in our darkest hours to the nation whose authority they acknowledge, and in whose glory they proudly share.

A New York City Residence in the Early Days

"From a territorial area of less than nine hundred thousand square miles, it has expanded into over three millions and a half,—fifteen times larger than that of Great Britain and France combined,—with a shore-line, including Alaska, equal to the entire circumference of the earth, and with a domain within

Photo by Boston Photo-News Co.

The Seven Million Dollar Residence of Senator Clark, Fifth Ave. and 77th St., New York City. Compare with the log hut of the first settler on Manhattan Island (opposite page).

these lines far wider than that of the Romans in their proudest days of conquest and renown. With a river, lake, and coastwise commerce estimated [these figures of 1870 are of course far exceeded at the present date] at over two thousand millions of dol-

lars per year; with railway traffic of from four to six millions per year, and the annual domestic exchanges of the country running up to nearly ten thousand millions per year; with over two thousand millions of dollars invested in manufacturing, mechanical, and mining industry; with over five hundred millions of acres of land in actual occupancy, valued, with their appurtenances, at over seven thousand millions of dollars, and producing annually crops valued at over three thousand millions of dollars; with a realm which, if the density of Belgium's population were possible, would be vast enough to include all the present inhabitants of the world; and with equal rights guaranteed to even the poorest and humblest of over forty millions of people, we can, with a manly pride akin to that which distinguished the palmiest days of Rome, claim, as the noblest title of the world, 'I am an American citizen.' "

A FACTOR IN WORLD POLITICS

And to-day, by a sudden and unexpected turn in the course of events pertaining to this nation's career, it stands as a world power in a different sense of the term from that which is derived from its size or principles of government. To-day "Uncle Sam" stands not with both feet upon the western continent, as formerly, but astride the Pacific, with one foot upon the continent of Asia, and has become a power with which other nations must reckon in all important matters the world over.

It is a well-known fact that the most important result of the late war with Spain, was not the liberation of Cuba, not the victory of the United States over Spain, not the acquisition of new territory, but the change of relationship which, at the close of the war, this nation sustained to the nations of the eastern hemisphere. Its former isolation was gone. It had changed from a republic to an empire, with newly acquired possessions in the Far East. It had become "the United States of America *and Asia.*" Henceforward it would be concerned in the political affairs of Asia, and of all Europe as well.

Since that time no political agreement of moment has been arrived at by the powers of Europe without recognition of the United States as a party whose views touching the matter at issue must be taken into consideration.

A London writer, speaking of this change, said (July, 1898): "America, as a whole, does not yet grasp the full significance of her colonial policy. . . . The change in the great republic from a self-contained nation to one exercising sway over colonies and dependencies, is scarcely appreciated as being what it is,— a supreme event, to be ranked with the greatest world-changes of the last three centuries."

In January, 1900, the Secretary of Agriculture, speaking of the demand made by the United States for the "open door" in China, said: "A year ago no nation would have listened to a proposition of this kind; but the whole world listens to the United States now."

Press despatches relating to the effort of Italy to seize a portion of China, in the spring of 1899, state that before finally deciding on the attempt, Italy "endeavored to ascertain what attitude would be assumed by the United States in case of her occupation of Chinese territory." It was stated that "the startling proposition greatly astonished the administration," because "never before has the United States been consulted by any European power" with reference to Eastern affairs. This, it was further said, "is considered by the authorities [at Washington] as a formal recognition of the new position in international affairs that the United States has assumed as a result of the war with Spain, and of the immensity of the commercial interests of this government in Asia."

The new position of influence of this nation among the world powers is thus described by a leading Washington press correspondent:—

Photo by Paul Thompson, N. Y.

View in the Great Steel Works at Bethlehem, Pa., Where the Gigantic Guns are Made for the U. S. Navy.

"One of the oldest employees of the State Department, one who has occupied an important and confidential post through many administrations, was speaking to me to-day [Dec. 3, 1899] of the remarkable change that had come in these two years in the status of the United States. 'It seems but a year or two ago,' he said, 'that Washington was looked upon in diplomatic circles throughout the world as a sort of place of banishment. No first-class diplomatists were sent to this capital. We were regarded as of such small importance that the legations here were used as a sort of makeshift, and the diplomats nearly always tried their best to avoid assignment to this city. Now, the best men in every diplomatic service are selected for Washington. Probably there is not a capital in Europe that contains a higher average quality of skill and ability among the foreign embassies and legations than we have accredited to us here.

"'Another and most gratifying evidence of our improved status in the eyes of the world,' continued this old official, 'is found in the manner in which all the nations are trying to get

West Point on the Hudson

on good terms with us. We men here in the State Department are amazed at the contrast which the present shows with the past in this respect. We see it and feel it every day. We can all remember when the diplomats scarcely took the trouble to veil behind their traditional politeness a certain contempt for America and for our government. At times they were inclined to be just a trifle arrogant with us. Now it is all the other way. There is not a government in the world that fails to show us, in its every-day contact with us, through the visits of its diplomatic representatives, that it wishes to cultivate the most friendly and cordial relations with the new world-power. If Secretary Hay dared do it, he could tell you of many instances of this, some of them of a rather amazing character.

"'I will venture one illustration. Not long ago Italy wanted to gobble up a slice of territory in China. One of the first things the diplomatic representatives of Italy at this capital did was to come to the State Department, seeking aid and comfort.

They had not much more than got out the door when the Chinese minister came in asking the help of the United States government in resisting the threatened encroachment of the Italians. Of course, there was nothing for us to do but to tell both of them that the affair was out of our line. Only a day or two after, the Chinese minister was here, asking the United States to take charge of his country's interests in Colombia during the present troubles there. So it goes. Scarcely a day passes that some such request, or other evidence of the world's friendliness to us, and confidence in us, is not brought to our attention.'"

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U. S. Battleship Fleet Leaving Hampton Roads, Va., Oct. 25, 1913

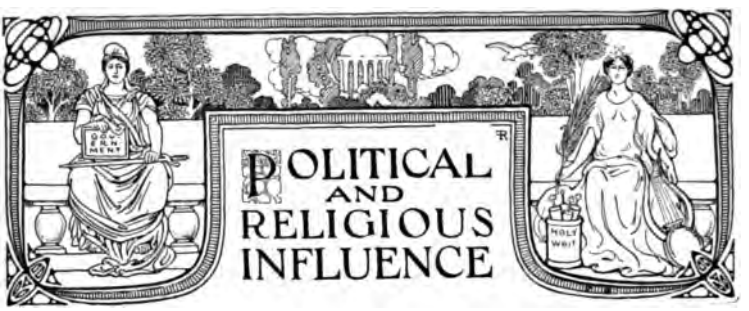
The recent voyage of the United States battleship fleet to the shores of the Old World, called out marked demonstrations at every foreign port, indicative of the respect which is felt by the great world powers for this nation, and their desire to cultivate its friendship. These incidents are of too recent occurrence to need description here.

The whole world bears testimony to-day to the truth of

these words of Justice Brewer of the U. S. Supreme Court, in discoursing on "The Larger and Higher Life of the Nation" (January, 1907): "The United States is the marvel of the nations; it is the giant of the centuries. Not merely in its population, but by its wealth, culture, and achievements this country has astonished the whole world."

And how long a time has it taken for this wonderful transformation? In the language of Edward Everett, "They are but lately dead who saw the firstborn of the Pilgrims;" and Mr. Townsend (p. 21) says, "The memory of one man can swing from that time of primitive government to this — when thirty-eight millions of people [he could now say ninety-four millions], living on two oceans and in two zones, are represented in Washington, and their consuls and ambassadors are in every port and metropolis of the globe."

An Automobile Boat



CHAPTER III

THE great instrument which our forefathers set forth as their bill of rights — the Declaration of Independence — contains these words:—

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal [this means equality only in natural and political rights]; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." And in Art. IV, Sec. 4, of the Constitution of the United States, we find these words: "The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government." A republican form of government is one in which the power rests with the people, and the whole machinery of government is worked by representatives elected by them.

This is a sufficient guaranty of civil liberty. What is said respecting religious freedom? In Art. VI of the Constitution, we read: "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office of public trust under the United States." In Art. I of Amendments to the Constitution, we read, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

In reply to a communication from the United Baptist

churches of Virginia, in which they gave expression to the fear entertained by many that liberty of conscience was not sufficiently secured under the Constitution, George Washington wrote, Aug. 8, 1789:—

"If I could have entertained the slightest apprehension that the Constitution framed by the convention where I had the honor to preside might possibly endanger the religious rights of any ecclesiastical society, certainly I would never have placed my signature to it; and if I could now conceive that the general government might ever be so administered as to render the liberty of conscience insecure, I beg you will be persuaded that no one would be more zealous than myself to establish effectual barriers against the horrors of spiritual tyranny and every species of religious persecution. For, you doubtless remember, I have often expressed my sentiments that any man, conducting himself as a good citizen and being accountable to God alone for his religious opinions, ought to be protected in worshiping the Deity according to the dictates of his own conscience."—*"History of the Baptists," by Thomas Armitage, D. D., pp. 806, 807.*

In 1830, certain memorials for prohibiting the transportation of the mails and the opening of post-offices on Sunday were referred to the Congressional Committee on Post-offices and Post-roads. The committee reported unfavorably to the prayer of the memorialists. Their report was adopted, and printed by order of the Senate of the United States, and the committee were discharged from any further consideration of the subject. Of the Constitution they say:—

"We look in vain to that instrument for authority to say whether the first day, or seventh day, or whether any day, has been made holy by the Almighty.

"The Constitution regards the conscience of the Jew as sacred as that of the Christian, and gives no more authority to adopt a measure affecting the conscience of a solitary individual than of a whole community. That representative who would violate this principle would lose his delegated character, and forfeit the confidence of his constituents. If Congress should declare

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Entrance to Gatun Locks, Panama Canal.

the first day of the week holy, it would not convince the Jew nor the Sabbatarian. It would dissatisfy both, and consequently convert neither. . . . If a solemn act of legislation shall in one point define the law of God, or point out to the citizen one religious duty, it may with equal propriety define every part of revelation, and enforce every religious obligation, even to the forms and ceremonies of worship, the endowments of the church, and the support of the clergy.

"The framers of the Constitution recognized the eternal principle that man's relation to his God is above human legislation, and his right of conscience inalienable. Reasoning was not necessary to establish this truth; we are conscious of it in our own bosoms. It is this consciousness, which, in defiance of human laws, has sustained so many martyrs in tortures and flames. They felt that their duty to God was superior to human enactments, and that man could exercise no authority over their consciences. It is an inborn principle which nothing can eradicate.

"It is also a fact that counter memorials, equally respectable, oppose the interference of Congress on the ground that it would

be legislating upon a religious subject, and therefore unconstitutional."

Hon. A. H. Cragin, of New Hampshire, in a speech in the House of Representatives said:—

"When our forefathers reared the magnificent structure of a free republic in this Western land, they laid its foundations broad and deep in the eternal principles of right. Its materials were all quarried from the mountain of truth; and as it rose majestically before an astonished world, it rejoiced the hearts and hopes of mankind. Tyrants only cursed the workmen and their workmanship. Its architecture was new. It had no model in Grecian or Roman history. It seemed a paragon let down from heaven to inspire the hopes of men, and to demonstrate God's favor to the people of the New World. The builders recognized the rights of human nature as universal. Liberty, the great first right of man, they claimed for 'all men,' and claimed it from 'God himself.' Upon this foundation they erected the temple, and dedicated it to Liberty, Humanity, Justice, and Equality. Washington was crowned its patron saint. Liberty was then the national

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Admitting Water into Gatun Locks. The water comes up through the floor of the locks.

Relief Map of the

goddess, worshiped by all the people. They sang of liberty, they harangued for liberty, they prayed for liberty. Slavery was then hateful. It was denounced by all."

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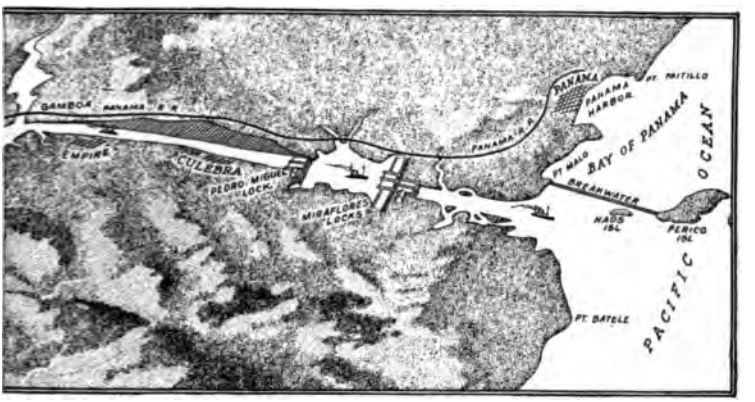
Col. Geo. W. Goethals, Builder of the Panama Canal

Again, the Bible, and the Bible alone, is the Protestant rule of faith; and liberty to worship God according to the dictates of one's own conscience is the standard of religious freedom in this land. It is evident that while the government pledges to all its citizens the largest amount of civil freedom, outside of license, it has determined to lay upon the people



Panama Canal Zone

no religious restrictions, but to guarantee to all liberty to worship God according to their own conscience.

It is these heaven-born principles,— civil and religious liberty,— so clearly recognized, so openly acknowledged, and so amply guaranteed, that have made this nation the attraction it has been to the people of other lands, and drawn them in such multitudes from every nation, and from every section to our shores.

Townsend ("Old World and New," p. 341) says:—

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Col. W. C. Gorgas, Chief Sanitary Officer of the Canal Zone

"And what attached these people to us? In part, undoubtedly, our zone, and the natural endowments of this portion of the globe. In part, and of late years, our vindicated national character, and the safety of our institutions. *But the magnet in America is that we are a republic — a republican people!* Cursed with artificial government, however glittering, the people of Europe, like the sick, pine for nature with protection, for open vistas and blue sky, for independence without ceremony, for adventure in their own interest; and here they find it!"

Thompson ("United States as a Nation," p. 29) gives this view of the religious element that entered into this organization:—

"In the movements in the colonies that prepared the way for the Revolution, the religious spirit was a vital and earnest element. Some of the colonies were the direct offspring of religious persecution in the old country, or of the desire for a larger freedom of faith and worship; and so jealous were they of any interference with the rights of conscience, that their religion was fitly described [by Burke in his Speech on Conciliation] as 'a refinement on the principle of resistance, the dissidence of dissent, and the Protestantism of the Protestant religion.' And the colonies that were founded in that spirit of commercial adventure, or for extending the realm of Great Britain, became also an asylum for religious refugees from all nations, and by the prospect of a larger and freer religious life, attracted to themselves the men of different races and beliefs who had learned to do and to suffer for their faith."

On page 31 he further says:—

"Thus it came to pass that the religious wars and persecutions of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were a training school for the political independence of the United States of America in the eighteenth century. Diverse and seemingly incongruous as were the nationalities represented in the colonies,— Dutch, French, German, Swedish, Scotch, Irish, English,— they had all imbibed, either by experience or by inheritance, something of the spirit of personal independence, and especially of religious liberty. Gustavus Adolphus designed his colony of Swedes for the benefit of 'all oppressed Christendom.' Penn, the Quaker, established Pennsylvania as 'a free colony for

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Removing the Last Earth Barrier in the Canal against the Waters of the Pacific, by an Explosion of Twenty Tons of Dynamite, August 31

all mankind,' where the settlers 'should be governed by laws of their own making.' The first charter of the Jerseys — which were largely peopled by Quakers, and Scotch and Irish Presbyterians — declared that 'no person shall at any time, in any way, or on any pretense, be called in question, or in the least punished or hurt, for opinion in religion.' And Oglethorpe's Colony of Georgia was founded to be a refuge for 'the distressed people of Britain, and the persecuted Protestants of Europe;' then the German Moravian settled side by side with the French Huguenot and the Scotch Presbyterian under the motto, 'We toil not for ourselves, but for others.'

"Père Hyacinthe, after a tour in New England, said he had remarked in every town three institutions that epitomized American society,— the bank, the school, and the church. A true picture. And you see the intellectual and the spiritual are two to one against the material,— the bank, the storehouse of gains and savings; the school and the church, the distributing reservoirs of what is freely taken from the bank and given to those educating and spiritualizing forces of society.

"'The Americans,' says De Tocqueville, 'show by their practise that they feel the high necessity of imparting morality to democratic communities by means of religion.' It is not on Sunday alone, as De Tocqueville imagined, 'that the American steals an hour from himself, and laying aside for a while the petty passions which agitate his life and the ephemeral interests which engross it, strays at once into an ideal world, where all is great, eternal, and pure.'"—*Id., pp. 219, 220.*

The success of the United States in erecting at once a permanent and stable form of government, has been an astonishment to other nations. Edouard Laboulaye, one of the foremost patriots and publicists of France, just after the revolution of 1848 said:—

"In the last sixty years we have changed eight or ten times our government and our constitution; have passed from anarchy to despotism; tried two or three forms of the republic and of monarchy; exhausted proscription, the scaffold, civil and foreign war; and after so many attempts, and attempts paid with the fortune and the blood of France, we are hardly more advanced than at the outset. The constitution of 1848 took for its model the constitution of 1791, which had no life: and to-day we are agitating the same questions that in 1789 we flattered ourselves we had resolved. How is it that the Americans have organized liberty upon a durable basis, while we, who surely are not inferior to them in civilization,— we who have their example before our eyes,— have always miscarried?"

Thompson ("United States as a Nation," p. 107) quotes the foregoing from "Etudes Morales et Politiques," p. 285, and spends a few moments considering a proper answer to this question which the Frenchman in so much astonishment asks. He makes the answer to consist principally in the fact that the Americans conceived and adopted a superior Constitution,— a Constitution which has sprung from the noble principles which have given this nation its political and religious influence, as noticed in this chapter. He says:—

"But in this point of constitution-making, it will also be seen

that the Americans, with a rare felicity, succeeded in incorporating the constitution of the nation, which is its life principle, with the national Constitution, which gives to the national life its definitive form and expression. They not only achieved independence, but, in the happy phrase of the French critic, they '*organized* liberty.' This success was due to training, to methods, and to men, or rather to that mysterious conjunction of men and events that make the genius of an epoch akin to inspiration."

The value and influence of this Constitution is shown in the fact that "to-day a leading organ of opinion in England pronounces the Constitution of the United States 'the most sacred political document in the world.' "—*Id., p. 160.*

The stability of our government through the changes and vicissitudes which have revolutionized if not overthrown other governments, is a further evidence of the solid political and religious basis on which its foundations are laid. On this point we quote again from Thompson, p. 148:—

"Frederick the Great died: and, twenty years after, the Prussia that he had created lay dismantled, dismembered, disgraced, at the dictation of Napoleon. Napoleon abdicated; and France has wandered through all forms of government, seeking rest and finding none. Washington twice voluntarily retired from the highest posts of influence and power,— the head of the army, the head of the state; but the freedom he had won by the sword, the institutions he had organized as president of the Federal Convention, the government he had administered as President of the Union, remained unchanged, and have grown in strength and majesty through all the growing years."

American missionaries have gone to all the world, and in numbers and activity hold an equal place with those of any other nation; while the American Bible Society, in the extent of its operations, sending out millions of copies of the Scriptures in all the leading languages of the world, stands next to the original society of the mother country. The American Bible Society was organized in New York City in 1817. The original society of the mother country, the

British and Foreign Bible Society, London, was organized in 1804.

This country has now come to be looked upon as the model, after which other governments may profitably pattern. Under the title of "The Model Republic," Cyrus D. Foss, pastor of St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal church, New York, preached a sermon, from which the reader will be pleased to read the following extracts, as a fitting close to the present chapter:—

"Let every thoughtful American bless God that he lives in this age of the world, and in this country on the globe; not in the dark past, where greatness and even goodness could accomplish so little; not in the Oriental world, where everything is stiffened and is hard as cast-iron; but now where such mighty forces are at work for the uplifting of humanity, and just here at this focal point of power. . . .

"I maintain to-day that God has signalized this great American nation, this democratic republican nation, this Protestant

Independence Hall, Philadelphia

Christian nation, above all the nations that are, or ever have been, upon the face of the globe, by the place and the work he has assigned it. Look at its place on the globe, and its place among the centuries. What a magnificent arena for a young nation to step forth upon, and begin its march to a destiny inconceivably glorious. Suppose an angel flying over all the earth two hundred years ago, looking down upon the crowded populations of Europe and Asia, and the weak and wretched tribes of Africa, perceiving that humanity never rises to its noblest development, save in the north temperate zone; turning his flight westward across the Atlantic, there dawns upon him the vision of a new world, a world unpopulated save by a few scattered and wandering tribes of aboriginal savages, and by thirteen sparse colonies of the hardiest and best of immigrants along the Atlantic coast. He beholds a continent marvelously beautiful, with unlimited resources to be developed; its rivers open all parts of the country, and bring all into communication with two great oceans and with the tropic gulf. He sees a soil inexhaustibly fertile; he sees the mountains (for an angel's eye can search their treasures) full of gold, silver, copper, iron, and coal. He sees a country insulated by three thousand miles of ocean from all the nations, needing contiguity with none — a Cosmos in itself. Would not this angel-gazer say, 'My God has assuredly made and endowed this peerless continent for some glorious end. The rest of the world is occupied, and the most of it cursed by occupation. Here is virgin soil; here is an arena for a new nation, which, perchance, profiting by the mistakes of the long, dark past, may, by the blessing of God, work out for itself and for humanity a better destiny.'

"Note again the place of America in the scale of the centuries. Why was this continent hid from the eye of Europe so long? And why, after its discovery, was it kept unsettled for a century and a quarter longer, the thought of it all that time being only a disturbing leaven in the mind of Europe? Ah! God would not suffer that tyrannical ideas of government or religion should take root here. He veiled the New World from the vision of the Old, until the Old had cultivated a seed worthy to plant the New. No crowned despots, no hooded monks, were to flourish here. No hoary superstitions, no ancient usurpations, were to take root here. Why was the era of this nation's birth coeval with that of the development of inventive genius? Why was it that this land was comparatively unsettled until the iron horse was ready to career across its plains, leap its

rivers, dive through its mountains, and bring its most distant cities into vicinage?— until leviathan stood waiting to plough the ocean, and bring the nations into brotherhood?— until the fiery steeds of heaven were being harnessed to fly with tidings in a single instant across the continent or under the ocean? Why was the beginning of our national history delayed until the doctrines of civil and religious liberty — a thousand times strenuously asserted and bravely defended — had emerged into prominence and power, so that the American freeman of to-day stands upon the shoulders of thirty generations of heroic battles for the right?

"No candid man can ponder these thoughts without wondering what God designs for this young giant which he has so located on the surface of this globe, and on the scale of the centuries.

"The thesis I shall defend is this: God designated the United States of America as the *model Republic and the great evangelizer of the world.* The questions I have just propounded suggest a line of argument which will prove this proposition, and by proving it, devolve upon us here in this country a responsibility, the like of which has never been laid upon any nation. Let me premise two things essential to the argument: America is certainly the observed of all observers. The eyes of all nations are upon her. This free government, this 'experiment at free government,' as European absolutists have sneeringly termed it, fixes the gaze of the whole world. There is no nation, no tribe, civilized or semicivilized, on the whole earth, that does not look this way, and feel that humanity has a stake in this land. This Hercules, who, when in his cradle, bearded and defeated the British Lion; who, in his callow youth, repeated that feat on those watery plains, where, till then, the foe had ranged acknowledged lord, and who has just now, in his vigorous manhood, throttled and slain the many-headed hydra of rebellion,— this Hercules, somehow, has come to be gazed upon by all lands, and, somehow, the oppressed of every nation on the face of the earth have reached the conviction that he is their champion.

"The other preliminary thought is this: In stating the mission of America, I have mentioned two things,— that God meant it to be a model Republic, and the great evangelizer, and these two are one. . . .

"The historian utters this reflection: 'Whether true or false,

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Morning Eagle Falls, Glacier National Park

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sublime or ridiculous, men must have a religion.' Later, and with deeper meaning, Perrier, successor to Lafayette as prime minister to Louis Philippe, said on his death-bed: 'France must have religion.' So I say to-day concerning that better faith which overthrows what Romanism sets up, which breaks the shackles Romanism binds on, which is the only security of national permanence, *America must have religion. In order to be the model Republic, she must be the great evangelizer.*

"The two evangels of civil and religious liberty are ours. There are two great methods by which God indicates his will concerning a nation,— by the providential training he bestows upon it, and by the resources he puts within its reach. Now, in the light of these two criteria, let us look at this country, and see if God does not proclaim his will as plainly as though he had written it in letters of fire on the sky over every American sunset, or deeply graven it in rocky characters on the crest of every American mountain: 'My will is, that on this new continent, the nation I plant here shall be the model Republic and the great evangelizer of the world.' . . .

"America was discovered just after the art of printing had begun its marvelous quickening of the human mind. Now who shall settle it? Papists? They found it. Spaniards? Frenchmen? Both wanted it. No; God's plan will be imperiled unless colonists of a certain language, and of a certain religious faith, shall be the first settlers of the land. The settlers must have the truest religious faith there is on the earth, and must speak only that language which, more than any other language, is full of the inspiration of liberty. They come — and for what? With the noblest motives that ever inspired the bosom of an emigrant, see them land from the 'Mayflower' upon the frozen beach, amid the storms of winter, dropping tears which froze as they fell, and yet tears of gratitude.

"'What sought they thus afar?
Bright jewels of the mine?
The wealth of seas? the spoils of war?—
They sought a faith's pure shrine.
Aye, call it holy ground,
The spot where first they trod;
They left unstained what there they found —
Freedom to worship God.'

— *Mrs. Hemans.*

Landing of the Pilgrims, Dec. 21, 1620

"They had trouble enough from the aborigines to drive them together, and to drive them to God. They had the utmost simplicity of manners, the utmost reverence for the Bible, and the utmost detestation of tyranny, whether in the church or state. They had not for the love of freedom left their homes in the Old World to become slaves in the New. The God who instituted the colonies molded their history. He kept them connected with the mother country until they were strong enough to stand alone among the nations, and then he overruled the manner of their breaking away so as to inspire them with a perpetual hatred of all oppression. Why the British Parliament should have passed the Stamp Act, and why, in repealing it, it should have reasserted the false principles underlying it; why it should have so long persisted in treating Englishmen here as Englishmen there would never have submitted to be treated at all, no man can explain on any other hypothesis than this: that England was judicially blinded, in order that America might be free.

"And this is not merely the opinion of Americans spoken a century after. It was the opinion of British statesmen at the time. The halls of Parliament, the whole realm, rang with

notes of warning at that hour. Lord Chatham said: 'The gentleman tells us that America is obstinate, America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to be slaves would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest.' This was said in Parliament ten years before the Declaration of Independence. Wesley, who is usually represented as having been the foe of our independence, and to whom history has at length done tardy justice, on the very first day after the reception of the news of Lexington and Concord, sat down and wrote to Lord North and the Earl of Dartmouth, each an emphatic letter: 'I am a High-churchman, the son of a High-churchman, brought up from my childhood in the highest notions of passive obedience and non-resistance: and yet, in spite of all my long-rooted prejudices, I can not avoid thinking these, an oppressed people, asked for nothing more than their legal rights, and that in the most modest and inoffensive manner that the nature of the thing would allow.' 'And if arms were to be resorted to, how could it happen that Great Britain should fail in the contest? How could it be that she should not be able, after overpowering the fleets and armies of the first nations of Europe [and this is an Englishman's question], immediately to discomfit the farmers and merchants of America?' There is but one explanation: 'We got not the land in possession by our own sword, neither did our own arms save us; but Thy right hand and Thine arm, and the light of Thy countenance, because Thou hadst a favor unto us.' God released the young giant from the swaddling-bands of colonial dependence. And why should it not be so? Why should a country like this, the most magnificent of any country on the earth, a country in whose lakes England might have been thrown and buried, whose descending seas make her greatest rivers appear, in comparison, like brooks and rivulets, whose cataracts might have drowned out her cities,— why should this magnificent country be shackled by the chains put on it by the selfishness of its parent? It was not according to the will of God. He chose that here, in an independent career of unparalleled freedom to man, this country should go forth on its path of progress, and hold its place among the nations, unsurpassed by any, until human happiness and grandeur this side the grave should be no more.

"The ideal of government is popular government. The divine right of kings is an exploded fancy. The best ends of

Among the Giant Redwoods of California

government can never be realized by the rule of one or of a few. God gave to Israel a king in his wrath. The rights of man, the dignity of man, the direct relation and responsibility of man to God — these ideas stand forth most clearly where there is no king, [no pope], no noble nor ignoble pedigree, no bar between the poorest boy in the land and the highest post of honor. Many an experiment of republican government had

failed for the lack of general intelligence and of a pure religion.

"Absolutists pointed to Rome, to Sparta, to France, and sneered at the democratic idea. For the grandest and final experiment of self-government, God preserved this peerless continent. Such a new work, politically, can be best accomplished on virgin soil, where no old castles, no effete conservatisms, should bind men subserviently to a blundering past, where all things summon them to hold communion, not with dead men's bones, but with nature, with freedom, and with God.

"A rapid glance at the resources of this country will deepen our conviction of the grandeur of its mission. We shall see that it has ample resources, material and moral, for the great work to which it is summoned. We have the heart of the continent, the north temperate zone. If you will study history, you will find that no great nation has ever existed on the earth except in that zone. There must be the hardening of the muscles and the fiber, and the quickening of the mind, which can be only where summer's heat gives place to winter's frost.

"We have also a coast-line greater than that of any other nation. The relation of this fact to the theme will quickly appear. Arnot counsels fearful Englishmen to turn for comfort from the newspaper to the map. He bids them notice that the coast-line of Great Britain is three times greater than that of France, and thence argues that the commercial and naval supremacy of Great Britain is forever assured. The argument is sound. Now, our coast-line is several times greater than that of any other nation. We have two oceans, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Great Lakes; and rivers piercing the land bring all the country right down to the sea. The commercial and the naval greatness of America can easily be all that they need to be for the accomplishment of those things which we believe God has assigned for this nation to accomplish in the world. . . .

"Now, what is the bearing of these startling facts upon our argument? A great nation must be materially great. It must have ground to stand on, and a field to work in, for only work can make a man or a nation great. These amazing resources are to furnish us the machinery for a splendid career of civil, moral, and religious progress."

The *Review of Reviews*, July, 1901, says:—

"A good many Englishmen, taking a more philosophical

view of the situation, have already reconciled themselves to the fact that the United States is henceforth to surpass all other manufacturing nations, and they are calmly investing their money in the shares of the American industrial companies."

Mr. Frederic Harrison, in the *Nineteenth Century* for June, 1901, gives the impressions of America he received in his visit to the United States. He says:—

"My own impression is that in spite of the vast proportion of immigrant population, the language, character, habits, of native Americans rapidly absorb and incorporate all foreign elements. In the third or fourth generation, all exotic differences are merged. In one sense the United States seemed to me to be more homogeneous than the United Kingdom. There is no State, city, or large area which has a distinct race of its own, as Ireland, Wales, and Scotland have; and of course there is nothing analogous to the diverse nationalities of the British empire. From Long Island to San Francisco, from Florida Bay to Vancouver Island, there is one dominant race and civilization, one language, one type of law, one sense of nationality. That race, that nationality, is American to the core, and the consciousness of its vast expansion and collective force fills the mind of American citizens as nothing can do to this degree in the nations of Western Europe."

ELEMENTS OF AMERICAN GREATNESS

In short, Mr. Harrison found here something more than "mere bigness." Vast expansion, collective force, inexhaustible energy — these were the impressions forced on the visitor, beyond all that he could have conceived, or had expected to find. He says:—

"No competent observer can doubt that in wealth, manufactures, material progress of all kinds, the United States in a very few years must hold the first place in the world without dispute. The natural resources of their country exceed those of all Europe put together. Their energy exceeds that of the British, their intelligence is hardly second to that of Germany and France. And their social and political system is more favorable to material development than any other society devised

by man. Of course, for the American citizen and the thoughtful visitor, the real problem is whether this vast prosperity, this boundless future of theirs, rests upon an equal expansion in the social, intellectual, and moral sphere."

As to educational activities, he says:—

"Chicago struck me as being somewhat unfairly condemned, as devoted to nothing but mammon and pork. Certainly during my visit I heard of nothing but the progress of education, university endowments, people's institutes, libraries, museums, art schools, workingmen's model dwellings and farms, literary culture, and scientific foundations."

Mr. Harrison concluded that "the educational machinery of the nation, taken as a whole, must be at least tenfold that of the United Kingdom."

A Train on the New York Central R. R. in 1831

CHAPTER IV

OUR country's progress, even under so brief a survey as that contained in the preceding chapters, must strike every one as a marvel of national growth. And when we take into consideration the convictions expressed by some of the eminent authors from whom we have quoted, that the hand of Providence has been more conspicuous in the development of this nation than in that of any other, it is calculated to intensify greatly our interest in the subject, and hasten us on to an investigation of the query whether this nation is not mentioned in that prophetic Word which has outlined the great epochs of human history, pointed out the nations, and in some instances the individuals, which were to act a part therein, and described the movements they would make. Certainly if the hand of Providence has been so conspicuously present in our history, as some of the writers already referred to affirm, we could hardly do less than look for some mention of this government in that Book which makes it a special purpose to record the workings of that Providence among mankind. What, then, are the probabilities in the matter? On what conditions might we expect to find mention of it? If the same conditions exist here as those which have made other nations subjects of prophecy, should we not expect to find mention of this also? On what

conditions, then, have other nations found a place on the prophetic record? The answer is that it is on these conditions: namely, first, if they have acted any *prominent part* in the world's history; and secondly, and above all, if they have had *jurisdiction over the people of God,* or, in other words, have maintained such relations with them that the history of the people of God could not be written without mention of the nation with which they were connected. By comparing the prophecies and records of the Bible with the records of secular history, we find data from which to deduce the rule here given respecting the prophetic mention of earthly governments; and as it is a very important one, the reader will permit us to state it again: Whenever the relation of God's people to any nation is such that a true history of his people, which is the leading object of revelation, could not be given without a notice of that nation, such nation is mentioned in prophecy.

And all these conditions are certainly fulfilled in our government. As regards the first, no nation has ever attracted more attention, excited more profound wonder, or given promise of greater eminence or influence among the nations of the earth; and as touching the second, certainly here, if anywhere on the globe, is to be found a strong array of Christians, such as are the salt of the earth and the light of the world, whose history could not be written without mention of that government under which they live and enjoy their liberty.

A SERIES OF SYMBOLS EXAMINED

With these probabilities in favor of the proposition that this government should be a subject of prophecy, let us now take a brief survey of those symbols found in the Word of God which represent earthly governments. These are found

chiefly, if not entirely, in the books of Daniel and the Revelation.

In Daniel 2 a symbol is introduced in the form of a great image consisting of four parts,— gold, silver, brass, and iron. This image is finally dashed to atoms, and a great mountain, taking its place, fills the whole earth, and remains forever. In Daniel 7 the prophet records a vision in which he was shown a lion, a bear, a leopard, and a great and terrible nondescript beast, which, after passing through a new and remarkable phase, is cast into a lake of fire, and utterly perishes.

In Daniel 8 mention is made of a ram, a he-goat, and a horn, little at first, but waxing exceeding great, which is finally broken without hand. Verse 25. In Revelation 9 we have a description of locusts like unto horses. In Revelation

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Ruins of the City of Babylon, Uncovered by Excavations under the Direction of Dr. Robert Koldewey, a German Archeologist

12 we have a great red dragon. In Revelation 13 a blasphemous leopard beast is brought to view, and another beast with two horns like a lamb. In Revelation 17, John gives us a graphic pen-picture of a scarlet-colored beast, upon which a woman sits, holding in her hand a golden cup, full of filthiness and abomination.

What governments and what powers are represented by all these symbols? Do any of them symbolize our own government? Some of them certainly represent earthly kingdoms, for so the prophecies themselves expressly inform us;[1] and in the application of nearly all of them there is quite a uniform agreement among expositors. The four parts of the great image of Daniel 2 represent four kingdoms. They symbolize, respectively, ancient Babylon, or Chaldea, Medo-Persia, Grecia, and Rome. The lion of the seventh chapter also represents Babylon; the bear, Medo-Persia; the leopard, Grecia; and the great and terrible beast, Rome. The horn with human eyes and mouth, which appears in the second phase of this beast, represents the papacy, and covers its history down to the time when it was temporarily overthrown by the French in 1798. In Daniel 8, likewise, the ram represents Medo-Persia; the he-goat, Grecia; and the little horn, Rome. All these have a very clear and definite application to the governments named. None of them thus far can have any reference to the United States.

The symbols brought to view in Revelation 9, all commentators concur in applying to the Saracens and Turks. The dragon of Revelation 12 is the acknowledged symbol of pagan Rome. The leopard beast of Revelation 13 can be

[1] Thus, interpreting the different divisions of the great image, Daniel said to Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, "*Thou* art this head of gold." Dan. 2:38. The remaining parts — silver, brass, iron — are called three succeeding "kingdoms." Verses 39, 40. In Dan. 8:20, 21, the ram is called Media and Persia, the rough goat, Grecia, and the notable horn, her first king. Thus are we established in the line of interpretation, and guided in the application.

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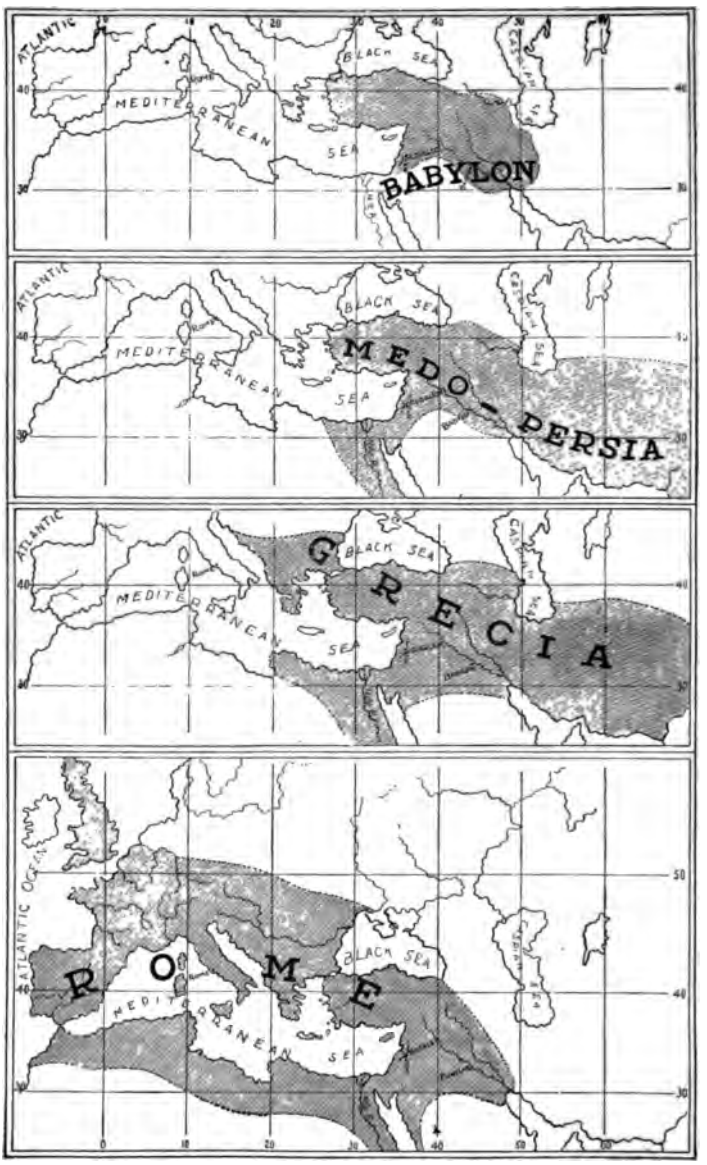
Ruins of the Tower of Babel, as Uncovered by Recent Excavations

shown to be identical with the eleventh horn of the fourth beast of Daniel 7, and hence to symbolize the papacy. The scarlet beast and the woman of Revelation 17 as evidently apply also to Rome under papal rule, the symbols having especial reference to the distinction between the civil power and the ecclesiastical, the civil being represented by the beast, the ecclesiastical by the woman seated thereon.

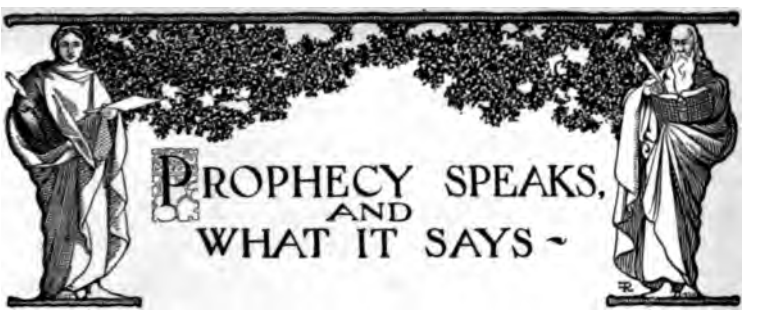
There is one symbol left, last but not least, the youngest of the family, that vigorous and sprightly fellow with two horns like a lamb, brought to view in Rev. 13 : 11-17 — what nation does that symbolize? On this there is more difference of opinion. Let us, therefore, before seeking for an application, look at the time and territory covered by those already examined. Babylon and Medo-Persia covered all the civilized portion of Asia, in ancient times. Greece covered Eastern Europe, excluding Russia. Rome, with the ten kingdoms into which it was divided before the end of the fifth century A. D., as represented by the ten toes of the image, the ten horns of the fourth beast of Daniel 7, the ten horns of the dragon of Revelation 12, and the ten horns of the leopard beast of Revelation 13, covered all

Western Europe. In other words, all the civilized portions of the eastern hemisphere are absorbed and appropriated by the symbols already examined.

But there is a mighty nation in this western hemisphere, worthy, as we have seen, of being mentioned in prophecy, which is not yet brought in; and there is one symbol remaining on the prophetic page, the application of which has not yet been made. All the symbols but one are applied, and *all* the available portions of the earth, with the exception of our own land, are covered by the nations which these symbols represent. Of all the symbols mentioned, one alone — the two-horned beast of Revelation 13 — is left; and of all the countries of the earth respecting which any reason exists why they should be mentioned in the prophecy at all, one alone — our own government — remains. Do the two-horned symbol and the United States belong together? If they do, then *all* the symbols find an application, and *all* the ground is covered. If they do not, it follows, first, that the United States is not represented in prophecy by any of the national symbols, as, for the reasons already stated, we should expect it would be; and secondly, that the two-horned symbol of Rev. 13: 11-17 finds no government to which it can apply. But the first of these suppositions is not *probable;* and the second is ***not possible.***



Map Showing Territory Covered by the Great Kingdoms of Bible Prophecy



CHAPTER V

LET us now enter upon a more particular examination of the second symbol of Revelation 13, seeking to determine its application with greater certainty. What is said respecting this symbol — the beast with two horns like a lamb — is not an isolated and independent prophecy, but is connected with what precedes; and the symbol itself is but one of a series. It is proper, therefore, to examine briefly the preceding symbols, since if we are able to make a satisfactory application of them, it will guide us in the interpretation of this.

The line of prophecy of which this forms a part commences with Revelation 12. The book of the Revelation is evidently not one consecutive prophecy of events to transpire from the beginning to the close of the gospel dispensation, but is composed of a series of such consecutive prophecies, each line taking up its own class of events, and tracing them through from the days of the prophet to the end of time; and when one line of prophecy is completed, another is introduced into the narrative, which in order of time goes back into the past, perhaps to the beginning, and follows its own series of events down to the end. That such a new series of prophetic events is introduced in Revelation 12, is evident; because in the preceding chapter a line of prophecy comes to its comple-

tion in the great day of God's wrath, the judgment of the dead, and the eternal reward of those that fear God and revere his name. No line of prophecy can go farther; and any events to transpire in probation, *subsequently* mentioned, must of course belong to a *new series.*

Commencing, then, with chapter 12, how far does the line of prophecy there introduced extend?— The first symbol which can be applied to an earthly government is the great red dragon. The second is the beast of Revelation 13, which, having the body of a leopard, may for brevity's sake be called "the leopard beast." To this beast the dragon gives his seat, his power, and great authority. This beast, then, is connected with the dragon, and belongs to this line of prophecy. The third symbol is the two-horned beast of Revelation 13. This beast exercises certain power in the presence of the leopard beast, and causes the earth and them that dwell therein to worship him. This beast, therefore, is connected with the leopard beast, and hence belongs to the same line of prophecy. The conclusion of the prophecy is not reached

The Beast with Two Horns (Rev. 13:11), Symbol of the United States

in chapter 13, and hence this line of events does not end with that chapter, but must be looked for farther on in the record. Going forward into chapter 14, we find a company brought to view who are redeemed from among men (an expression which can mean nothing else than translation from among the living at the second coming of Christ); and they sing a song before the throne which none but themselves can learn. In chapter 15 we have a company presented, who have gotten "the victory over the beast, his image, his mark, and the number of his name," the very objects which are brought to view in the concluding portion of Revelation 13. This company also sing a song, even the song of Moses and the Lamb; and they sing it while standing upon the sea of glass, as stated in verse 2. Turning to chapter 4, verse 6, we learn that this sea of glass is "before the throne." The conclusion therefore follows that those who sing before the throne, in chapter 14, are identical with those who sing on the sea of glass (before the throne), in chapter 15, inasmuch as they stand in the same place, and the song they both sing is the first glad song of actual redemption. But the declarations found in chapter 15 show that the company introduced in the opening of chapter 14 have been in direct conflict with the powers brought to view in the closing verses of chapter 13, and have gained the victory over them. Being thus connected with these powers, they form *a part of the same line of prophecy* of Revelation 12 and 13. But here, in Rev. 14: 1-5, this line of prophecy must end; for this company is spoken of as *redeemed;* and no line of prophecy, as already noticed, can go beyond the opening of the eternal state.

The line of prophecy in which the two-horned beast stands, is, therefore, one which is *very clearly defined;* it *commences* with *chapter 12* and *ends* with *verse 5* of *chapter 14*. The student of prophecy finds it one of vast impor-

The "Woman" of Rev. 12:1, Symbol of the Christian Church

tance; the humble child of God, one of transcendent interest. It begins with the church, and ends with the church — the church, at *first* in humility, trial, and distress; at *last,* in victory, exaltation, and glory. This is the one object which ever appears the same in all the scenes here described, and whose history is the leading theme of the prophecy, from first to last. Trampled under the feet of the three colossal persecuting powers here brought to view, the followers of Christ for long ages bow their heads to the pitiless storm of oppression and persecution; but the end repays them for all; for John beholds them at last, the storms all over, their conflicts all ended, waving palm-branches of victory, and striking from harps celestial a song of everlasting triumph within the precincts of the heavenly land.

Having found the line of prophecy of which the symbol before us forms a part thus definitely located and defined, we now enter upon its examination. The first inquiry is, What power is designated by the great red dragon of Revelation

12? The chapter first speaks of a woman clothed with the sun, the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars. A woman is the symbol of a church, a lewd woman representing a corrupt or apostate church (as in Eze. 23: 2-4, etc., which refers to the Jewish Church in a state of backsliding; and in Rev. 17: 3-6, 15, 18, which refers to the apostate Romish Church); and a virtuous woman representing the true church, as in the verse under consideration. At what period in her history could the church of Christ be properly represented as here described?—*Answer,* At the opening of the gospel dispensation, and *at no other time;* for then the glory of this dispensation, like the light of the *sun,* had just *risen upon her;* the former, or Mosaic, dispensation, which, like the moon, shone with a borrowed light, had just passed, and lay beneath her feet; and twelve inspired apostles, like a crown of twelve stars, graced the first organization of the gospel church. To this period these representations can apply, but can not apply to any other. The prophet antedates this period a little by referring to the time when the church, with long expectation, was awaiting the advent into this world of the glorious Redeemer, and represents the new dispensation as already opened, and the Christian church organized, as this was the condition in which Christ was to leave it at the conclusion of his brief earthly ministry.

A man child, represented as the offspring of this woman, now appears upon the scene. Verse 5. The child here brought to view was our Lord Jesus Christ; for he was to rule all nations with a rod of iron, and he was caught up to God and his throne. These declarations are true of Christ; but *they are not true of any other being that has appeared in this world;* and this fact must determine the application, beyond the possibility of any question. (See Ps. 2: 7-9; Eph. 1: 20, 21; Heb. 8: 1; Rev. 3: 21.) There can there-

fore be no mistake as to the time *when,* nor the place *where,* we are to locate the beginning of this chain of prophecy. It begins with the constitution of the Christian church, at the opening of the present, or Christian dispensation. It is necessary to mark these facts, in order to identify the power symbolized by the great red dragon; for the question, What power is meant by the dragon? is the one to which we are now seeking an answer. The woman was the church; and the man child was Christ; and the dragon stood before the woman, to devour her child as soon as it should be born. Now, what organized government attempted to destroy Jesus Christ when he appeared in this world? Who sought to destroy the wonderful babe of Bethlehem?— Herod. And who was Herod?— A Roman governor. Rome was at that time the only political power which could be represented in prophetic symbol; for its dominion was then universal. Rome ruled over all the earth. Luke 2:1. Rome, then, was the responsible party in the effort to destroy Jesus Christ as soon as he was born. It is not without good reason, therefore, that pagan Rome is considered among Protestant commentators to be the power represented by the great red dragon, and it is a fact worth

The Great Red Dragon of Rev. 12:3, 4, Symbol of Pagan Rome

mentioning that during the second, third, fourth, and fifth centuries of the Christian era, next to the eagle, the *dragon* was the principal standard of the Roman legions; and that dragon was painted *red.*

There is but one objection we need pause to answer before passing to the next symbol. Is not the dragon plainly called the "devil" and "Satan" in verse 9? How, then, can the term "dragon" be applied to pagan Rome? That it is primarily applied to the devil, as a *personality,* there seems to be no doubt; but when some government is taken, and becomes so thoroughly imbued with that personality as to be his complete representative and his chief agent, could not that government be consistently called by the same name?— Most assuredly. And so it was with Rome. Rome, being at this time pagan, and the supreme empire of the world, was the great and sole agent in the hands of the devil for carrying out his purposes, so far as they pertained to national affairs: hence the use of that symbol to designate, and the application of that term to describe, the Roman power.

Having identified the power symbolized by the dragon, it is not necessary here to enter into other particulars concerning it, our object being to hasten on to the second symbol of chapter 13. We therefore pass on to an examination of the next symbol, which is the leopard beast of the first part of chapter 13. To this beast the dragon gives his seat, his power, and great authority. Verse 2. It would be sufficient on this point simply to show to what power the dragon, pagan Rome, transferred its seat and gave its authority. The seat of any government is certainly its capital city. The city of Rome was the dragon's seat. But in *A. D. 330,* Constantine *transferred the seat of empire from Rome to Constantinople;* and *Rome was given up* — to what? to decay, desolation, and ruin?— No; but to a *power* which would

render it far more celebrated than it had ever been before, not as the seat of pagan emperors, but as the city of St. Peter's so-called successors, the seat of a spiritual kingdom which was not only to become more powerful than any secular government, but which, through the magic of its fatal sorcery, was to exercise dominion over the kings of the earth. *Thus was Rome — the seat of the dragon — given to the papacy by the transfer of the throne of the emperors to Constantinople by Constantine A. D. 330;* and the decree of Justinian, issued in 533, and carried into effect in 538, constituting the pope the head of all the churches and the corrector of heretics, was the *investing of the papacy with that power* and authority which the prophet foresaw. (See "Croly on the Apocalypse," pp. 114, 115.)

It is very evident, therefore, that this leopard beast is a symbol of the papacy. But there are other considerations which prove this. This beast had the body of a leopard, the mouth of a lion, and the feet of a bear. In Daniel's vision of chapter 7, the prophet was shown a lion, a bear, and a leopard; and the fact that this beast of Revelation 13 has the features of each of these, shows it to be some power which succeeded the

The Leopard Beast of Rev. 13 : 1-3, Symbol of Papal Rome

kingdoms symbolized by those three beasts of Daniel's prophecy, and one which retained some of the characteristics of them all; *and that was Rome.* But this is not the first, or pagan, form of the Roman government; for that is represented by the dragon; and this is the form which next succeeded that, which was the papal.

But what most clearly shows that this beast represents the papacy is its identity with the little horn of the fourth beast of Daniel 7, which all Protestants agree in applying to the papal power.

1. Their Chronology.— (1) After the great and terrible beast of Daniel 7, which represents Rome in its first, or pagan, form, is fully developed, even to the existence of the ten horns, or the division of the Roman empire into ten parts, the little horn arises. Verse 24. (2) This leopard beast likewise succeeds the dragon, which also represents Rome in its pagan form. These powers — the little horn and the leopard beast — appear, therefore, upon the stage of action at the *same time; i. e.,* next after the decadal division of the Roman empire, as shown by the ten horns of Daniel's fourth beast, and after the same division into ten parts, as symbolized by the ten horns of the dragon.

2. Their Location.— (1) The little horn plucked up three horns to make way for itself. The last of these, the Gothic horn, was subdued when the Goths were driven from Rome in 538, and the city was left in the hands of the little horn, which has ever since held it as the seat of its power. (2) To the leopard beast, also, the dragon gave its seat, the city of Rome. They therefore occupy the *same location.*

3. Their Character.— (1) The little horn is a blasphemous power; for it speaks great words against the Most High. Dan. 7:25. (2) The leopard beast is also a blasphemous power; for it bears upon its head the name of *blasphemy;*

it has a mouth speaking great things and *blasphemies;* and he opens his mouth in *blasphemy* against God to *"blaspheme* his name, and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven." Rev. 13: 1, 5, 6. Therefore, they both maintain exactly the *same character.*

4. Their Work.— (1) The little horn, by a long and heartless course of oppression against the saints of the Most High, wears them out; and they are given into his hand. Dan. 7: 25. He makes war against them, and prevails. Verse 21. (2) The leopard beast also makes war upon the saints, and overcomes them. Rev. 13: 7. This shows that they do the *same work,* and against the *same class of people.*

5. The Time of Their Continuance.— (1) Power was given to the little horn to continue a "time and times and the dividing of time." Dan. 7: 25. A *time* in Scripture phraseology is one year. Dan. 4: 25. (The "seven times" of Nebuchadnezzar's humiliation, Josephus informs us, were *seven years.*) Times, that is two times, the least that can be expressed by the plural, would be two years more; and the dividing of time, or half a time (R. V.), half a year more, making in all three and a half years. (2) To the leopard beast, power was also given to continue forty-two months. There being twelve months to the year, this period gives us again just three and a half years. And this being prophetic time, a day for a year (Num. 14: 34; Eze. 4: 6), and there being, according to Scripture reckoning, thirty days to a month, or three hundred and sixty days to the ordinary Bible year (Gen. 7: 11, 24; 8: 4), we have in each case twelve hundred and sixty years for the continuance of the little horn and the leopard beast. Thus we see that they continue *the same length of time.*

6. Their Overthrow.— (1) At the end of the "time, times, and a half," the dominion of the little horn was to be

taken away. Dan. 7:26. (2) At the end of the forty-two months, the same length of time, the leopard beast was also to be slain, politically, with the sword, and go into captivity. Rev. 13:3, 10. They, therefore, both *end* in the *same manner.*

These are points which prove *not merely* similarity, but *identity.* For whenever two symbols, as in this instance, represent powers that —

1. Come upon the stage of action at the *same time,*
2. Occupy the *same territory,*
3. Maintain the *same character,*
4. Do the *same work,*
5. Continue the *same length of time,* and
6. Meet the *same fate,*—

Those two symbols must represent one and the same power.

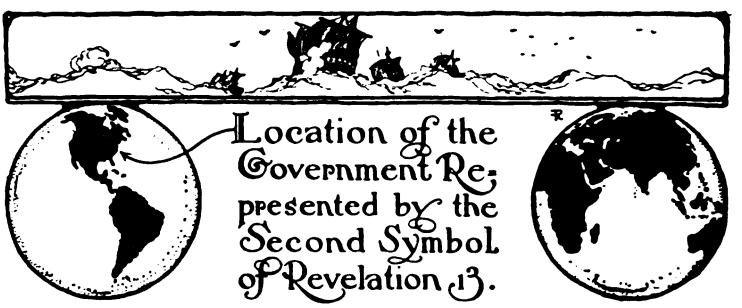
And in all these particulars there is, as we have seen, the most exact coincidence between the little horn of the fourth beast of Daniel 7 and the leopard beast of Revelation 13; and *all* are fulfilled by *one power;* and that is the *papacy.* For (1) the papacy succeeded to the pagan form of the Roman empire; (2) it has, ever since it was first established, occupied the seat of the dragon, the city of Rome, building for itself such a sanctuary — St. Peter's — as the world nowhere else beholds; (3) it is a blasphemous power, speaking the most presumptuous words it is possible for mortal lips to utter against the Most High; (4) it has worn out the saints, the "Religious Encyclopedia" estimating that the lives of *fifty millions* of Christians have been quenched in blood by its merciless implements of torture; (5) it has continued a "time, times, and a half," or "forty-two months," or twelve hundred and sixty years; for commencing in 538, when the decree of Justinian in behalf of papal supremacy was first made effectual by the over-

throw of the Goths, the papacy enjoyed a period of uninterrupted dominion for just twelve hundred and sixty years, to 1798; and (6) then its power was temporarily overthrown, and its influence permanently crippled, when the French, under Berthier, entered Rome in triumph, and the pope was taken prisoner and died in exile.

Can any one doubt that the papacy is the power in question, and that by this symbol we are brought down to within a little over a hundred years of our own time? We regard the exposition of the prophecy thus far as clear beyond the possibility of refutation; and if this is so, our future field of inquiry lies within a very narrow compass, as we shall presently see.

We have now traced the prophecy down through pagan and papal Rome. Let these facts and the proof on which they rest, be kept clearly in mind, as we proceed to the next and most important and striking fact of all.

A Veteran of the Civil War



CHAPTER VI

FOLLOWING, in consecutive order, the leopard, or papal, beast of Revelation 13, comes another symbol, whose appearance the prophet delineates, and whose work he describes, in the following most explicit language:—

"I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth; and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon. And he exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him, and causeth the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed. And he doeth great wonders so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men, and deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by the means of those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast; saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast which had the wound by a sword, and did live. And he had power to give life unto the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed. And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads; and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name." Rev. 13: 11-17.

These few verses, with an allusion to the same power under the name of "the false prophet" in Rev. 16: 13 and 19: 20, furnish all the testimony we have respecting this symbol,

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A Cascade in Glacier National Park. Mount Gould in the Distance

which it is most convenient to call "the two-horned beast;" but brief as it is, it gives sufficient data for a very certain application of the symbol in question. As an example of the world of meaning which prophecy can condense into a few words, a portion of the first verse of the foregoing quotation may be instanced. Here, within a compass of nineteen words, only three of which are words of more than one syl-

lable, six grand points are made, which, taken together, are sufficient to determine accurately the application of this symbol. The prophet says, first, that it is "another beast;" secondly, that when his attention was turned to it, it was "coming up;" thirdly, that it came up "out of the earth;" fourthly, that it had "two horns;" fifthly, that these horns were like those of "a lamb;" and sixthly, that it came up after the preceding beast had gone into captivity.

The two-horned beast, then, is "another beast," in addition to, and different from, the papal beast which the prophet had just had under consideration under the symbol of a leopard beast; that is, it symbolized a power separate and distinct from that which is denoted by the preceding beast. This which John calls "*another* beast" is certainly *no part of the first beast;* and the power symbolized by it is likewise no part of that which is intended by that beast. This is fatal to the claim of those who, to avoid the application of this symbol to our own government, say that it denotes some phase of the papacy; for in that case it would be a part of the preceding, or leopard, beast, not "another beast."

To avoid this difficulty, it is claimed that the two-horned beast represents simply the religious power of Rome under papal rule, while the leopard beast represents only the civil power, and that these symbols correspond to the beast and the woman in Revelation 17, the one being the civil power, the other the ecclesiastical. But this claim also falls to the ground just as soon as it is shown that the leopard beast represents the *religious* as well as the civil element of that power. And nothing is easier than to show this.

Take the first symbol, the dragon. What does it represent?— Rome. But this is not enough; for Rome has presented two great phases to the world, and the inquirer wants to know which one is intended by this symbol. The answer

Rev. T. De Witt Talmage

In a sermon in Brooklyn Tabernacle this eminent preacher quoted the words of Rev. 13:11: "I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth; and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon," and said: "Those who have given this text study and thought maintain that this scripture refers to the United States, and I agree with them."

then is, *pagan* Rome; but just as soon as we add "pagan," we introduce a religious element; for paganism is one of the oldest and strongest systems of false religion ever devised by the arch-enemy of truth. It was, then, the religious element in the empire that determined what symbol should be used to represent it; and the dragon represented Rome while under the control of a *particular form of religion.*

But the time comes when another symbol is introduced upon the scene — the leopard beast arises out of the sea. What power is symbolized by this? The answer still is, Rome. But the dragon symbolized Rome, and why not let that symbol continue to represent it? Whoever attempts to answer this question must say that it is because *a change had taken*

place in the power. What change? Two kinds of changes are conspicuous in the history of Rome,— changes in the form of government, and a *change* in *religion.* But this can not denote any change in the form of government; for the seven different forms of government that Rome consecutively assumed are represented by the *seven heads* of the dragon and the *seven heads* of the leopard beast. The *religious change* alone must therefore be denoted by this change of symbols. Paganism and Christianity were mingled, and the mongrel production was the *papacy;* and this new religion, and this *alone,* made a *change* in the *symbol necessary.* Every candid mind must assent to this; and this assent is an admission of the utter absurdity of trying to limit this symbol to the civil power alone. So far from its representing the civil power alone, it is to the ecclesiastical element that it owes its very existence. The ecclesiastical is therefore the *essential element,* and without it the symbol *could not exist.*

That the leopard beast represents ecclesiastical as well as civil power is further shown in the arguments already presented to prove that this beast is identical with the little horn of the fourth beast of Daniel 7, which symbolizes the papacy in all its component parts and through all its history. It is the leopard beast alone that is identical with this little horn, not the leopard beast and the two-horned beast taken together.

Again, pagan Rome gave its seat to the papacy. The dragon gave his seat to the leopard beast. If it takes both the leopard beast and the two-horned beast to constitute the papacy, the prophet should have said that the dragon gave his seat and power to these *two beasts combined.* The fact that this transfer was to the *leopard beast alone,* is proof positive that that beast *alone* symbolizes the papacy in its entirety.

Gateway to Garden of the Gods, Colorado. Pike's Peak in the Distance

When, therefore, John calls the two-horned beast "another beast," it is certain that he does not mean any particular phase or any part of the papal power.

It is claimed by others that the two-horned beast represents England; by still others, France; and by some, Russia, etc. The first, among many other fatal objections to all these applications, is, that the territory occupied by all these powers had been already appropriated by preceding symbols. The prophecy does not read that the lion, the bear, or the leopard reappeared under a new phase; or that one of the ten horns of the leopard beast became another beast. If the two-horned beast symbolized any of these, it would be a part of other beasts instead of "another beast," separate and distinct, as it must be, from all the rest. It is a law of sym-

bols that each one occupies territory peculiarly its own; that is, the territory which constituted the original government was no part of that which had been occupied by the previous powers. Thus, Babylon had its territory, and Medo-Persia rose on the territory not occupied by Babylon; Medo-Persia and Babylon together covered all that portion of Asia known to ancient civilization. The Grecian, or Macedonian, kingdom arose to the west of them, occupying all the eastern portion of Europe, so far as it was known at that time. Rome rose still to the west, in territory unoccupied by Grecia. Rome was divided into ten kingdoms; but though Rome conquered the world, we look for these ten kingdoms only in that territory which had never been included in other kingdoms. We look not to Eastern Europe, for that was included in the dominion of the third beast; nor to Asia, for that constituted the empires of the first and second beasts; but to Western Europe, which territory was unoccupied, in symbolic prophecy, until taken by Rome and its divisions.

The ten kingdoms which rose out of the old Roman empire are enumerated as follows by Machiavelli, indorsed by Bishop Newton, Faber, and Dr. Hales: 1. The Huns; 2. The Ostrogoths; 3. The Visigoths; 4. The Franks; 5. The Vandals; 6. The Suevi; 7. The Burgundians; 8. The Heruli; 9. The Anglo-Saxons; and 10. The Lombards. These kingdoms have since been known, says Scott, as the "ten kingdoms of the Western empire," and they are distinguishable at the present day, some of them even by their modern names; as, Burgundy, Lombardy, France, England, etc., from Burgundians, Lombards, Franks, Anglo-Saxons, etc. These ten kingdoms being denoted by the ten horns of the leopard beast, it is evident that all the territory included in these ten kingdoms is to be considered as covered by that symbol. England is one of these ten kingdoms; France is another,

Entrance to a Colorado Gold Mine

If, therefore, we say that either of these is the one represented by the two-horned beast, we make one of the horns of the leopard beast constitute the two-horned beast. But this the prophecy forbids; for while John sees the leopard beast fully developed, with his horns all complete and distinct, he beholds the two-horned beast coming up, and calls it "another beast." We are therefore to look for the government which this beast symbolizes in some country outside the territory occupied by the four beasts and the ten horns already referred to. But these, as we have seen, cover all the available portions of the eastern hemisphere.

Another consideration pointing to the locality of this power is drawn from the fact that John saw it arising from the *earth*. If the *sea* from which the leopard beast arose

(Rev. 13:1) denotes peoples, nations, and multitudes, as John expressly affirms, in Rev. 17:15, his use of the word "earth" here would suggest, by contrast, a new and previously unoccupied territory.

Being thus excluded from eastern continents and impressed with the idea of looking to territory not previously known to civilization, we turn of necessity to the western hemisphere. And this is in full harmony with the ideas already quoted, and more which might be presented, that the progress of empire is with the sun around the earth from east to west. Commencing in Asia, the cradle of the race, it would end on this continent, which completes the circuit. Bishop Berkeley, in his celebrated poem on America, written more than one hundred years ago, in the following forcible lines, pointed out the then future position of America, and its connection with preceding empires:—

> "*Westward* the course of empire takes its way,
> The *first four acts* already past,
> A *fifth* shall close the drama with the day;
> *Time's noblest offspring* is the last."

By the "first four acts already past," the bishop had undoubted reference to the four universal kingdoms of Daniel's prophecy. A fifth great power, the noblest and the last, was, according to his poem, to arise this side of the Atlantic, and here close the drama of time, as the day here ends its circuit.

To what part of the American continent shall we look for the power in question?— To the most powerful and prominent nation, certainly. This is so self-evident that we need not stop to pass in review the frozen fragments of humanity on the north of us, nor the weak, superstitious, semi-barbarous, revolutionary, and uninfluential kingdoms to the south of us. No; we come to the United States, and here

we are held. To this nation the question of the location of the two-horned beast undeviatingly leads us.

That the minds of other students of Bible prophecy have been led in the same direction, may be seen from the following quotations (in addition to the testimony of Dr. Talmage, already given):—

"And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth; and he had two horns like a lamb." This beast may be considered the unregenerate part, the secular or political power of these United States. He rose up out of the earth, where there were few, or no inhabitants. He had two horns like a lamb.

"Our character, when compared with that of Europe, has been lamblike — quiet and inoffensive.—*"Signs of the Times," by John Hersey, Baltimore, 1839, p. 93.*

"In the thirteenth chapter of the book of Revelation, the writer describes two beasts, the first of which he saw rise up out of the sea, and the second come up out of the earth, both of which were deadly enemies to God and to his church. The second beast had two horns like a lamb, but he spake as a dragon. Great power was exercised by this beast, and great wonders were wrought by him, so that the people that dwell on the earth were deceived by him. However lamblike and innocent in appearance, this beast is imperious and intolerant in his actions. 'And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads: and that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name.' Without attempting any exegesis of this passage, or even saying that it has reference to present day conditions, every thoughtful reader of the Word of God must have been impressed with the fact that we have come into a condition that is remarkably similar to that which is here described, in the multiplication of unions and orders of various kinds; both among those who sell and those who buy; those who employ labor and those who seek employment. . . .

"Whether this vision has any reference to present day conditions or not, it surely is a striking description of conditions that have arisen among us."— *Tract on Labor Unions, by Rev. John S. Thompson, pp. 1, 2. Published by the Reformed Presbyterian Church.*

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Blackfoot Glacier, Glacier National Park

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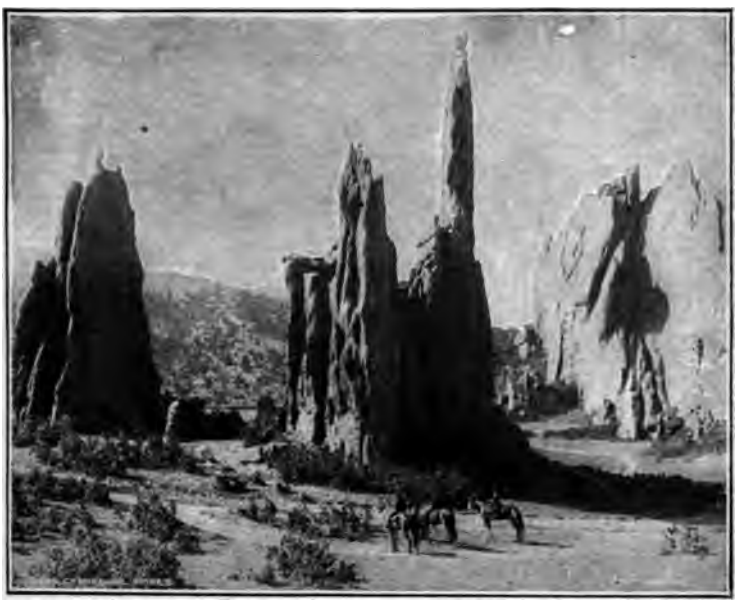


Cathedral Spires, Garden of the Gods, Colorado

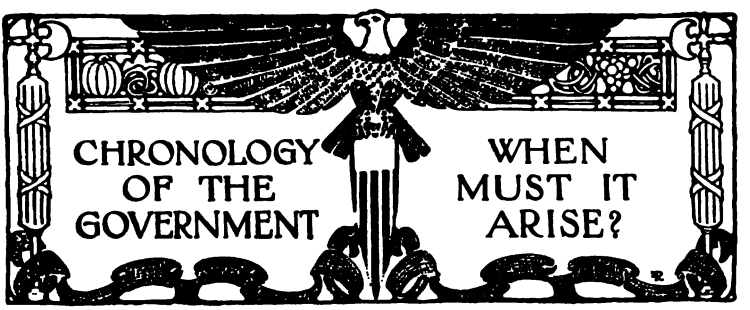
As an objection to this view, it may occur to some minds that the two-horned beast exercises all the power of the first beast before him (Greek, *enopion,* literally, in his eyes, or before his face), and does wonders in his sight; and how can the United States, separated by an ocean from European kingdoms, hold such an intimate relation to them? We answer, Space and time are annihilated by the telegraph. Through the Atlantic cable (an enterprise which, by the way, owes its origin to the United States), the lightnings are continually picturing to European beholders the affairs of America. Any important event occurring here is described the next hour in the journals of Europe. So far as the transmission of an account of our proceedings to the people of the Old World is concerned, it is as if America lay at the mouth of the English Channel.

And the eyes of all Europe are intently watching our movements. Says Mr. Townsend ("New World and Old," p. 583):—

"All the great peoples of Europe are curiously interested and amazed in the rise of America, and their rulers at present compete for our friendship. 'Europe,' said the prince Talleyrand long ago, 'must have an eye on America, and take care not to offer any pretext for recrimination or retaliation. America is growing every day. She will become a colossal power, and the time will come when (discoveries enabling her to communicate more easily with Europe) she will want to say a word in our affairs, and have a hand in them.'"

The time has come, and the discoveries have been made, to which Talleyrand referred. It is almost as easy now to communicate with Europe as with our nearest town; and thus whatever the United States does, it is done in the sight, yes, even before the eyes, of all Europe.

One strong pillar in the argument is thus firmly set. The terms of the prophecy absolutely fix the *location* of the power symbolized by the two-horned beast; and that location is in this western hemisphere. Then it can be *nowhere else* but our own country. And the conclusion is thus unavoidable, that our own nation, the United States, is the power in question. A striking confirmation of this forecast is furnished by the incidents of the late Spanish war. This has brought America to the front as a "world power" in the eyes of the nations. Our connection with Cuba, the acquisition of Porto Rico, operations in the Philippines, and participation in the troubles in China, have shown to all that the United States is a power henceforth to be reckoned with in all international complications. This falls into faultless harmony with the application here set forth.



CHAPTER VII

HAVING become satisfied *where* the power symbolized by the two-horned beast must be located, we now inquire respecting the *time* when we may look for its development. At what period in this world's history is the rise of this power placed in the prophecy? On this point, as on the preceding, the foundation for the conclusions at which we must arrive is already laid in the facts elicited in reference to the preceding, or leopard, beast. It was at the time when this beast went into captivity, or was killed (politically) with the sword (verse 10), or (which we suppose to be the same thing) had one of its heads wounded to death (verse 3), that John saw the two-horned beast coming up. If the leopard beast, as we have conclusively proved, signifies the papacy, and the going into captivity met its fulfilment in the temporary overthrow of popedom by the French in 1798, then we have the epoch definitely specified *when* we are to look for the rising of this power. The expression, "coming up," must signify that the power to which it applies was but newly organized, and was then just rising into prominence and influence. The power represented by this symbol must, then, be some power which in 1798 stood in this position before the world.

That the leopard beast is a symbol of the papacy there

can be no question; but some may want more evidence that the wounding of one of its heads, or its going into captivity, was the overthrow of the papacy in 1798. This can easily be given. A nation being represented by a wild beast, the government of that nation, that by which it is controlled, must, as a very clear matter of course, be considered as answering to the head of the beast. The seven heads of this beast would therefore denote seven different governments; but all the *heads* pertain to *one beast,* and hence all these seven different forms of government pertain to *one empire.* But only *one* form of government can exist in a nation at *one time;* hence the seven heads must denote seven forms of government to appear, not simultaneously, but successively. But these heads pertain alike to the dragon and the leopard beast, from which this one conclusion only can be drawn; namely, that Rome, during its whole history, embracing both its pagan and papal phases, would change its form of government *six times,* presenting to the world seven different forms in all. And the historian records just that number as pertaining to Rome. Rome was ruled first by kings; secondly, by consuls; thirdly, by decemvirs; fourthly,

Faneuil Hall, Boston; a Noted Landmark in Early American History

by dictators; fifthly, by triumvirs; sixthly, by emperors; and seventhly, by popes. See "American Encyclopedia."

John saw one of these heads wounded as it were to death. Which one? Can we tell? Let it be noticed, first, that it is one of the heads of the beast which is wounded to death, and not one of the heads of the dragon; that is, it is some form of government which existed in Rome after the change of symbols from the dragon to the leopard beast. We then inquire, How many of the different forms of Roman government belonged absolutely to the dragon, or existed in Rome while it maintained its dragonic, or pagan form? These same seven heads are again presented to John in Revelation 17; and the angel there explains that they are seven kings, or forms of government (verse 10); and he informs John that five are fallen, and one is; that is, five of these forms of government were already past in John's day, and he was living under the sixth. Under what form did John live? *Answer.* The imperial; for it was the cruel decree of the *emperor* Domitian which banished him to the Isle of Patmos, where this vision was given. Kings, consuls, decemvirs, dictators, and triumvirs were all in the past in John's day. Emperors were then ruling the Roman world; and the empire was still pagan. Six of these heads, therefore,— kings, consuls, decemvirs, dictators, triumvirs, and emperors,— belonged to the dragon; for they all existed while Rome was pagan; and it was no one of these that was wounded to death; for had it been, John would have said, I saw one of the heads of the *dragon* wounded to death. The wound was inflicted after the empire had so changed in respect to its religion that it became necessary to represent it by the leopard beast. But the beast had only seven heads, and if six of them pertain to the dragon, only one remained to have an existence after this change in the empire took place. After

the emperors, the sixth and last head that existed in Rome in its dragonic form, came the *popes,* the only head that existed after the empire had nominally become Christian. The "Exarchate of Ravenna" existed so "short a space" (Rev. 17 : 10) that it has no place in the general enumeration of the heads.

From these considerations it is evident that the head which received the mortal wound was none other than the *papal head.* This conclusion can not be shaken. We have now only to inquire when the papal head was wounded to death. It could not certainly be till after the papacy had reached that degree of development that caused it to be mentioned on the prophetic page. But after it was once established, the prophecy marked out for it an uninterrupted rule of 1260 years, which, dating from its rise in 538, would extend to 1798. And right there the papacy was, for the time being, overthrown. General Berthier, by order of the French Directory, moved against the dominions of the pope in January, 1798. February 10, he effected an entrance into the

St. Peter's Church and the Vatican, from the Tiber

self-styled "Eternal City," and on the 15th of the same month proclaimed the establishment of the Roman Republic. The pope, after this deprivation of his authority, was conveyed to France as a prisoner, and died at Valence, Aug. 29, 1799.

This would have been the *end* of the papacy had this overthrow been permanent. The wound would have proved *fatal* had it not been healed. But, though the wound was healed, the scar (to extend the figure a little) has ever since remained. A new pope was elected in 1800, and the papacy was restored, but only to a partial possession of its former privileges.

Rev. Geo. Croly, A. M., speaking upon this point, says:—

"The extinction of *torture* and *secrecy* is the virtual extinction of the tribunal. The power of the pope, as a *systematic* persecutor, has thus been annulled by the events growing out of the Republican era of 1793."—*"Croly on the Apocalypse," p. 257.*

Let the reader look carefully at this event. It furnishes a complete fulfilment of the prophecy; and it is the *only* event in all Roman history which does this; for, though the first six heads were each in turn exterminated, or gave place to the succeeding head, of no one of them could it be said that it received a deadly wound, which was afterward healed. And as this overthrow of the papacy by the French military must be the wounding of the head mentioned in Rev. 13:3, so, likewise, must it be the going into captivity, and the killing with the sword, mentioned in verse 10; for it is an event of the right nature to fulfil the prophecy, and one which occurred at the right time; namely, at the end of the time, times, and a half, the forty-two months, or the 1260 years; and *no other event can be found* answering to the record in these respects. We are not left, therefore, with any discretionary power in the application of this prophecy; for God,

Pope Pius VI. Taken Prisoner by Marshal Berthier, Feb. 20, 1798. The Pope Died in Exile the Following Year at Valence, France

by his providence, has marked the era of its accomplishment in as plain a manner as though he had proclaimed with an audible voice, "Behold here the accomplishment of my prophetic word!"

Thus clearly is the exact time when we are to look for the rise of the two-horned beast indicated in the prophecy; for John, as soon as he beholds the captivity of the first, or leopard beast, says, "I beheld another beast coming up." And his use of the present participle, "coming," clearly connects this view with the preceding verse, and shows it to be an event transpiring simultaneously with the going into captivity of the previous beast. If he had said, "I had seen another beast coming up," it would prove that when he saw it, it was coming up, but that the time when he beheld it was indefinitely in the past. If he had said, "I beheld another beast which had come up," it would prove that although his attention was called to it at the time when the first beast went

into captivity, yet its rise was still indefinitely in the past. But when he says, "I beheld another beast *coming up*," it proves that when he turned his eyes from the captivity of the first beast, he saw another power just then in the process of rapid development among the nations of the earth. So, then, about the year 1798, the star of that power which is symbolized by the two-horned beast must be seen rising over the horizon of the nations, and claiming its place in the political heavens. In view of these considerations, it is *useless* to speak of this power as having arisen ages in the past. To attempt such an application is to show one's self utterly reckless in regard to the plainest statements of inspiration.

Again, the work of the two-horned beast is plainly located, by verse 12, this side the captivity of the first beast, and the healing of his wound. It is there stated, in direct terms, that the two-horned beast causes "the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first beast whose deadly wound *was healed.*" But worship could not be rendered to a beast whose deadly wound was healed, till *after* that healing was *accomplished.* This brings the worship which this two-horned beast enforces unmistakably this side the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Says Elder J. Litch ("Restitution," p. 131):—

"The two-horned beast is represented as a power existing and performing his part after the death and revival of the first beast."

Mr. Wesley, in his notes on Revelation 14, written in 1754, says of the two-horned beast:—

"He has not yet come, though he can not be far off: for he is to appear at the end of the forty-two months of the first beast."

We find three additional declarations in the book of Reve-

lation which prove, in a general sense, that the two-horned beast performs his work with that generation of men who are to behold the closing up of all earthly scenes, and the second coming of our Lord Jesus Christ; and these will complete the argument on this point:—

1. The first is the message of the third angel, brought to view in the 14th of Revelation. It is not our purpose to enter into an exposition of the three messages of that chapter. We call the attention of the reader to only one fact, which must be apparent to all; and that is, that the third of these messages is the last warning of danger and the last offer of mercy before the close of human probation; for the event which immediately follows is the appearance of one like the Son of man, on a white cloud, coming to reap the harvest of the earth (verse 14); and this can represent nothing else but the second advent of the Lord from heaven. Whatever views, therefore, a person may take of the first and second messages, and at whatever time he may apply them, it is very certain that the third and last one covers the closing hours of time, and reaches down to the second coming of Christ. And what is the burden of this message? It is a denunciation of the unmingled wrath of God against those who worship the beast and his image. But this worship of the beast and his image is the very practise which the two-horned beast endeavors to enforce upon the people. The third message, then, is a warning against the work of the two-horned beast. And as there would be no propriety in supposing this warning to be given after that work was performed, since it could appropriately be given only when the two-horned beast was about to enforce that worship, and while he was endeavoring to enforce it; and since the second coming of Christ immediately succeeds the proclamation of this message, it follows that the duties enjoined by this message and the decrees enforced by the

The "Third Angel" of Rev. 14:9-12, Who Gives a Warning Against the Worship of the "Beast" and His "Image"

two-horned beast, constitute the last test to be brought to bear upon the world; and hence the two-horned beast performs his work, not ages in the past, but during the last generation of men to live before Christ's coming.

2. The second passage showing that the work of the two-horned beast is performed just before the close of time, is found in Rev. 15:2, which we have shown to refer to the same company spoken of in chapter 14:1-5. Here is a company who have gained the victory over the beast and his image, and the mark, and the number of his name; in other words, they have been in direct conflict with the two-horned beast, which endeavors to enforce the worship of the beast and the reception of his mark. And these are "redeemed from among men" (Rev. 14:4), or are translated from among the living at the second coming of Christ. 1 Cor. 15:51, 52; 1 Thess. 4:16, 17. This, again, shows conclusively that it is the last generation which witnesses the work of this power.

3. The third passage is Rev. 19:20, which speaks of the two-horned beast under the title of the false prophet, and mentions a point not given in Revelation 13; namely, the *doom* he is to meet. In the battle of the great day, which takes place in connection with the second coming of Christ (verses 11-19), the false prophet, or two-horned beast, is cast *alive* into a lake of fire burning with brimstone; and the word "alive" signifies that this power will be at that time a living power, performing its part in all its strength and vigor. This power is not to pass off the stage of action and be succeeded by another, but is to be a ruling power till destroyed by the King of kings and Lord of lords when he comes to dash the nations in pieces with a rod of iron. Ps. 2:9; Dan. 2:35.

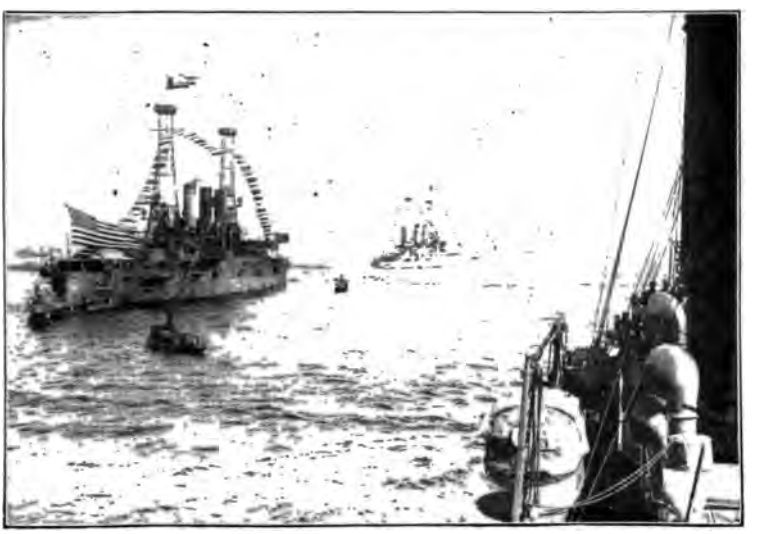
The sum of the argument, then, on this matter of chro-

nology, is this: The two-horned beast does not come into the field of this vision previous to the year 1798; it has its marvelous development after that time; it finishes its work while the last generation of men is living on the earth; and it comes up to the battle of the great day a *living* power in the full vigor of its strength.

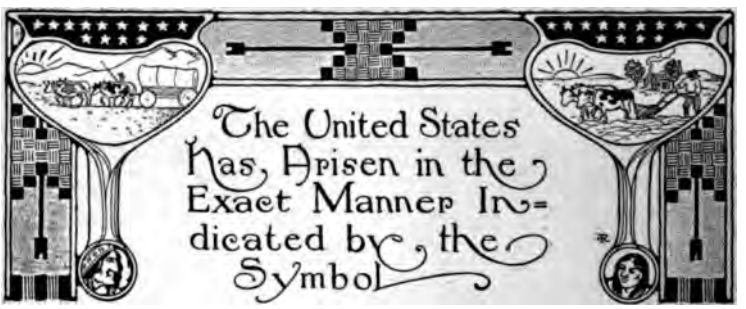
As it was shown in the argument on the location of the two-horned beast that we are limited in our application to the western continent, so we are limited still further by its *chronology;* for it must not only be some power which arises this side of the Atlantic, but one which is seen coming up here at a *particular time.* Taking our stand, then, in the year 1798, the time indicated in the prophecy, we invite the careful attention of the reader to this question: What independent power in either North or South America was at that time "coming up" in a manner to answer the conditions of the prophecy? All that part of North America lying to the north of us was under the dominion of Russia and Great Britain. Mexico, to the southwest, was a Spanish colony. Passing to South America, Brazil belonged to Portugal; and most of the other South American states were under Spanish control. In short, *there was not then a single civilized, independent government in the New World, except our own United States.* This nation, therefore, must be the one represented in the prophecy; for *no other* answers the specifications in the least degree. It has always taken the lead of all European settlements in this hemisphere. It was "coming up" at the exact time indicated in the prophecy. Like a lofty monument in a field all its own, we here behold the United States grandly overtowering all the continent. So far as God's providence works among the nations for the accomplishment of his purposes, it is visible in the development of this country as an agent to fulfil his word. On these two vital points

of LOCATION and CHRONOLOGY, the arguments which show that OUR COUNTRY IS THE ONE represented by the symbol of the two-horned beast of Rev. 13: 11-17, are ABSOLUTELY CONCLUSIVE.

The author will esteem it a personal favor, if the reader will be pleased to study with particular care the arguments and facts which show, so far as location and chronology are concerned, that the symbol with two horns like a lamb refers to the great nation on this side of the Atlantic, and that *the United States of America is a subject of prophecy.* These are points which all can consider in an unbiased manner. And if this country is a subject of prophecy, if here some of the great plans of God and of human history are to be worked out, all *ought to know it;* for all are *concerned in it.* Let not these points, therefore, be passed by without due study and care.



Parade of United States Warships



CHAPTER VIII

THE manner in which the two-horned beast was seen coming up shows equally with its location and its chronology, that it is a symbol of the United States. John says he saw the beast coming up "out of the earth." And this expression must have been designedly used to point out the contrast between the rise of this beast and that of other national prophetic symbols. The four beasts of Daniel 7 and the leopard beast of Revelation 13 all arose out of the *sea*. Says Daniel, "The four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea; and four great beasts came up from the sea." The sea denotes peoples, nations, and tongues (Rev. 17:15), and the winds denote political strife and commotion. Jer. 25:32, 33. There was, then, in this scene, the dire commotion of nature's mightiest elements — the wind above, the waters beneath, the fury of the gale, the roaring and dashing of the waves, the tumult of the raging storm; and in the midst of this war of elements, as if aroused from the depths of the sea by the fearful commotion, these beasts one after another appeared. In other words, the governments of which these beasts were symbols owed their origin to movements among the people which would be well represented by the sea lashed into foam by the sweeping gale; they arose by the upheavals of revolution, and through the strife of war.

Photo by Paul Thompson, N. Y.

Falls of the Yellowstone, Yellowstone National Park

But when the prophet beholds the rising of the two-horned beast, how different the scene! No political tempest sweeps the horizon, no armies clash together like the waves of the sea. He does not behold the troubled and restless surface of the waters, but a calm and immovable expanse of earth. And out of this earth, like a plant growing up in a quiet and sheltered spot, he sees this beast, bearing on his head the horns of a lamb, those eloquent symbols of youth and innocence, daily augmenting in bodily proportions, and daily increasing in physical strength.

If any one should here point to the war of the Revolution as an event which destroys the force of this application, it would be sufficient to reply (1) that that war was at least fifteen years in the past when the two-horned beast was introduced into the field of this vision; and (2) that the war of the Revolution was not a war of *conquest*. It was not waged to *overthrow* any other kingdom and build this government on its ruins, but only to defend the just rights of the Ameri-

can people. An act of resistance against continual attempts of injustice and tyranny can not certainly be placed in the same category with wars of oppression and conquest. The same may be said of the war of 1812. Hence these conflicts do not even partake of the nature of objections to the application here set forth.

The same view of this point is taken by eminent statesmen here and elsewhere. In a speech at the "Centennial Dinner," at the Westminister Palace Hotel, London, July 4, 1876, J. P. Thompson, LL. D., said:—

"I thank God that this birthday of the United States as a nation does not commemorate a victory of arms. War preceded it, gave occasion to it, followed it; but the figure of Independence shaped on the Fourth of July, 1776, wears no helmet, brandishes no sword, and carries no stain of slaughter and blood. I recognize all that war has done for the emancipation of the race, the progress of society, the assertion and maintenance of liberty itself; I honor the heroes who have braved the fury of battle for country and right; I appreciate the virtues to which war at times has trained nations as well as leaders and armies; yet I confess myself utterly wearied and sated with these monuments of victory in every capital of Europe, made of captured cannon, and sculptured over with scenes of carnage. I am sick of that type of history that teaches our youth that the Alexan-

South Dome and Vernal Falls, Yosemite Valley, Calif.

ders and Cæsars, the Fredericks and Napoleons, are the great men who have made the world; and it is with a sense of relief and refreshment that I turn to a nation whose birthday commemorates a great moral idea, a principle of ethics applied to political society — that government represents the whole people, for the equal good of all. No tide of battle marks this day; but itself marks the high-water line of heaving, surging humanity."— *United States as a Nation, pp. 13, 14.*

Hon. Wm. M. Evarts quotes with approval a saying of Burke, respecting our Revolution, as follows:—

"A great revolution has happened — a revolution made, not by chopping and changing of power in any of the existing states, but by the appearance of a new state, of a new species in a new part of the globe. It has made as great a change in all the relations and balances and gravitations of power as the appearance of a new planet would in the system of the solar world."

The word which John uses to describe the manner in which this beast comes up is very expressive. This word is ***anabainon,*** one of the prominent definitions of which is, "To grow, or spring up, *as a plant.*" And it is a remarkable fact that this very figure has been chosen by political writers as the one conveying the best idea of the manner in which this government has arisen. Mr. G. A. Townsend, in his work entitled, "The New World Compared with the Old," p. 462, says:—

"Since America was discovered, she has been a subject of revolutionary thought in Europe. The mystery of *her coming forth from vacancy,* the marvel of her wealth in gold and silver, the spectacle of her captives led through European capitals, filled the minds of men with unrest; and unrest is the first stage of revolution."

On page 635 he further says:—

"In this web of islands — the West Indies — began the life of both [North and South] Americas. There Columbus saw land, there Spain began her baneful and brilliant Western empire; thence Cortez departed for Mexico, DeSoto for the Mississippi, Balboa for the Pacific, and Pizarro for Peru. The

An American Smelter in the Rocky Mountains

history of the United States was separated by a beneficent Providence far from the wild and cruel history of the rest of the continent, and *like a silent seed we grew into empire* [italics ours]; while empire itself, beginning in the South, was swept by so interminable a hurricane that what of its history we can ascertain is read by the very lightnings that devastated it. The growth of English America may be likened to a series of lyrics sung by separate singers, which, coalescing, at last make a vigorous chorus; and this, attracting many from afar, swells and is prolonged, until presently it assumes the dignity and proportions of epic song."

A writer in the Dublin *Nation* spoke of the United States as a wonderful empire which was *"emerging,"* and *"amid the silence of the earth* daily adding to its power and pride."

In Martyn's "History of the Great Reformation," Vol. IV, p. 238, is an extract from an oration delivered by Edward Everett on the English exiles who founded this government, in which he says:—

"Did they look for a retired spot, inoffensive from its obscurity, safe in its remoteness from the haunts of despots, where

the little church of Leyden might enjoy freedom of conscience? Behold the mighty regions over which in *peaceful conquest* — ***victoria sine clade*** — they have borne the banners of the cross."

We now ask the reader to look at these expressions side by side,—"coming up out of the earth," "coming forth from vacancy," "emerging amid the silence of the earth," "like a silent seed we grew into empire," "mighty regions" secured by "peaceful conquest." The first is from the prophet, stating what *would be* when the two-horned beast should arise; the others are from political writers, telling what *has been* in the history of *our own government.*

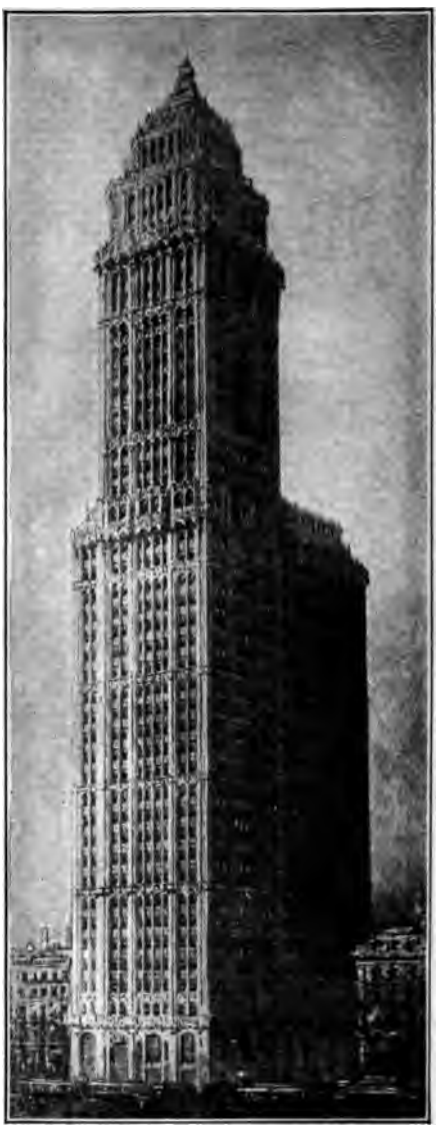
Can any one fail to see that the last four are exactly synonymous with the first, and that they record a complete accomplishment of the prediction? And what is not a little remarkable, those who have thus recorded the fulfilment have, without any reference to the prophecy, used the *very figure* which the prophet employed. These men, therefore, being judges,— men of large and cultivated minds, whose powers of discernment all will acknowledge to be sufficiently clear,— it is certain that the particular manner in which the

Royal Gorge, Colorado

United States has arisen, so far as concerns its relation to other nations, answers most strikingly to the development of the symbol under consideration.

We now extend the inquiry a step further: Has the United States "come up" in a manner to fulfil the prophecy in respect to the achievements this government has accomplished? Has the progress made been sufficiently great and sufficiently rapid to correspond to the visible and perceptible growth which John saw in the two-horned beast?

In view of what has already been presented in Chapter II, this question need not be asked. To show how the development of our country answers to the "coming up" of



Woolworth Building, New York City, Forty-six Stories High

the symbol, would be but to repeat the evidence there given. *When* was the wonderful national development indicated by the two-horned beast to appear?— In the very era of the world's history where our own government has appeared. *Where* was it to be witnessed?— In that territory which our own government occupies. We call the attention of the reader again to the wonderful facts stated in Chapter II. Their significance is greatly enhanced by the representations of that portion of the prophecy we are now considering. Read again the statement from Macmillan & Co., on p. 35, showing that during the half century ending in 1867 the United States added to its domain over fourteen hundred thousand square miles of territory more than any other single nation added to its area, and over eight hundred thousand more than was added to their respective kingdoms in the aggregate by all the other nations of the earth put together. Its increase in population and all the resources of national strength during the same time were equally noteworthy. And this marvelous exhibition has occurred, be it remembered, at that very epoch when the prophecy of the two-horned beast bids us look for a new government just then arising to prominence and power among the nations of the earth. According to the argument on the chronology of this symbol, we can not go back of the nineteenth century for its fulfilment; and we submit to the candid reader that to apply this to any other government in the world but our own during this time, would be *contrary to fact,* and ***utterly illogical.*** It follows, then, that our own government is the one in question; for this is the one which, at the right time, and in the right place, has been emphatically "coming up."

The only objection we can anticipate is that this nation has progressed too fast and too far,— that the government has already outgrown the symbol. But what shall be thought of

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Sunset on Lake Macdonald, Glacier National Park, Montana

those who deny that it has any place in prophecy at all? No; this prodigy has its place on the prophetic page; and the path which has thus far led us to the conclusion that the two-horned beast is the prophetic symbol of the United States, is hedged in on either side by walls of adamant that reach to heaven. To make any other application is an utter impossibility. The thought would be folly, and the attempt, abortion.

CHAPTER IX

HAVING given data by which to determine the location, chronology, and rapid rise of this power, John now proceeds to describe the appearance of the two-horned beast, and to speak of his acts in such a manner as clearly to indicate his character, both apparent and real. Every specification thus far examined has confined the application imperatively to the United States, and we shall find this one no less strong in the same direction.

This symbol has "two horns like a lamb." To those who have studied the prophecies of Daniel and John, horns upon a beast are no unfamiliar feature. The ram (Dan. 8:3) had two horns. The he-goat that came up against him had at first one notable horn between his eyes. Verse 5. This was broken, and four came up in its place toward the four winds of heaven. Verse 8. From one of these came forth another horn, which waxed exceeding great. Verse 9. The fourth beast of Daniel 7 had ten horns. Among these, a little horn, with eyes and mouth, far-seeing, crafty, and blasphemous, arose. Dan. 7:8. The dragon and the leopard beast of Revelation 12 and 13, denoting the same as the fourth beast of Daniel 7 in its two phases, have each the same number of horns, signifying the same thing. And the symbol under con-

Emerald Bay, Lake Tahoe, in the Heart of the Sierras

sideration has two horns like a lamb. From the use of the horns on the other symbols, some facts are apparent which may guide us to an understanding of their use on this last one.

A horn is used in the Scriptures as a symbol of strength and power, as in Deut. 33:17, and of glory and honor, as in Job 16:15.

A horn is sometimes used to denote a nation as a whole, as the four horns of the goat, the little horn of Daniel 8, and the ten horns of the fourth beast of Daniel 7; and sometimes some particular feature of the government, as the first horn of the goat, which denoted not the nation as a whole, but the civil power, as centered in the first king, Alexander the Great.

Horns do not always denote division, as in the case of the four horns of the goat, etc.; for the two horns of the ram de-

noted the *union* of Media and Persia in one government. Dan. 8:20.

A horn is not used exclusively to represent civil power; for the little horn of Daniel's fourth beast, the papacy, was a horn when it plucked up three other horns, and established itself in 538. But it was then purely an ecclesiastical power, and so remained for two hundred and seventeen years from that time, when Pepin, in the year 755, made the Roman pontiff a grant of some rich provinces in Italy, which first constituted him a temporal monarch. (Goodrich's "History of the Church," p. 98; Bower's "History of the Popes," Vol. II, p. 108.)

With these facts before us, we are prepared to inquire into the significance of the two horns which pertain to this beast. Why does John say that it had "two horns like a lamb"? Why not simply "two horns"? It must be because these horns possess peculiarities which indicate the character of

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Camp on Two Medicine Lake, Glacier National Park, Montana

the power to which they belong. The horns of a lamb indicate, first, youthfulness, and secondly, innocence and gentleness. As a power which has but recently arisen, the United States answers to the symbol admirably in respect to age; while no other power, as has already abundantly been proved, can be found to do this. And considered as an index of power and character, it can be decided what constitutes the two horns of the government, if it can be ascertained what is the secret of its strength and power, and what reveals its apparent character, or constitutes its outward profession. The Hon. J. A. Bingham gives us the clue to the whole matter when he states that the object of those who first sought these shores was to found "what the world had not seen for ages; viz., a *church without a pope, and a state without a king.*" Expressed in other words, this would be a government in which the church should be free from the civil power, and civil and religious liberty reign supreme.

And what is the profession of this government in these respects? As already noticed, that great instrument which our forefathers set forth as their bill of rights — the Declaration of Independence — affirms that all men are created on a plane of perfect equality; that their Creator has endowed them all alike with certain rights which can not be alienated from them; that among these are life, of which no man can rightfully deprive another, and liberty, to which every one is alike entitled, and the pursuit of happiness, in any way and every way which does not infringe upon the rights of others.

On the occasion of the centennial anniversary of the laying of the corner-stone of the Capitol building at Washington (June 7, 1893), William Wirt Henry, the orator of the day, made reference to the influence of the governmental principles of the United States, as follows:—

"Already the hope of our fathers as to the effect of our free institutions upon the human race has been wonderfully realized. That hope was expressed by James Wilson in the Pennsylvania Convention which adopted the Constitution when he said:—

" 'By adopting this system we shall probably lay a foundation for erecting temples of liberty in every part of the earth. It has been thought by many that on the success of the struggle America has made for freedom will depend the exertions of the brave and enlightened of other nations. The advantages resulting from this system will not be confined to the United States, but will draw from Europe many worthy characters who pant for the enjoyment of freedom. It will induce princes, in order to preserve their subjects, to restore to them a portion of that liberty of which they have for many ages been deprived. It will be subservient to the great designs of Providence with regard to this globe — the multiplication of mankind, their improvement in knowledge and their advancement in happiness.'

"It takes but a cursory view of the present condition of the people of Christendom to recognize the liberalizing effect of our government upon their civil institutions. It has been well said by a late writer that 'at the close of the American Revolution there was in the Old World only one free nation and no democracy. In Europe there now remain but two strong monarchies — those of Russia and Prussia — while America, scarcely excepting Brazil and Canada, is entirely (at least in name) republican.' Since he wrote, Brazil has dethroned her king and adopted a republican form of government, and there is a strong movement in Canada toward union with the United States. But while other nations have followed more or less closely in our footsteps, striving to enjoy our freedom, how wonderful has been our progress in all that makes a nation great! When we consider the enlarged extent of our territory, the increase of our population, our progress in the arts and sciences, in commerce, in wealth, and in knowledge, we are forced to exclaim, 'God has blessed us, and has made his face to shine upon us!' "

And nearly half a century before, at the laying of the corner-stone of the extension of the Capitol, July 4, 1851, Daniel Webster was impressed to say:—

"Who does not admit that this unparalleled growth of prosperity and renown is the result, under Providence, of the union

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A Logging Camp in the Sierra Nevada Mountains

of these States under a general Constitution which guarantees to each State a republican form of government and to every man the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, free from civil tyranny or ecclesiastical domination?"

So much for the department of civil liberty. In the domain of spiritual things the position of this government is no less explicit and no less broad and liberal. In the Old World, what multitudes have been deprived of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," on account of a peculiarity of belief in religious matters! What woes have been inflicted upon humanity by the efforts of spiritual tyrants to fetter men's consciences! What a grand safeguard is erected against these evils in the noble provisions of our Constitution, that no person shall be prohibited from freely exercising his religion (on the implied condition, of course, that no other person's rights

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A Log Raft on the Columbia River, Oregon

are infringed upon); that Congress shall make no law in regard to any religious establishment; and that no religious profession shall qualify a person for, and no lack of it debar one from, any office of public trust under the United States. Thus the right of worshiping God according to the dictates of his own conscience is guaranteed to every man.

In the chapter on the political and religious influence of this nation (Chapter III), these points are brought out more fully; and to the matter of that chapter the reader is referred.

Here, then, are two great principles standing prominently before the people,— *Republicanism* and *Protestantism*. And what can be more just, more innocent, more lamblike than these? And here, also, is the secret of our strength and power. Had some Caligula or Nero ruled this land, we

Dress Parade, United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, Md.

should look in vain for what we behold to-day. Immigration would not have flowed to our shores, and this country would never have presented to the world so unparalleled an example of national growth.

One of those two lamblike horns may therefore represent the great principle of civil liberty in this government; and the other, the equally great principle of religious liberty, which men so highly prize, and have so earnestly sought. As Mr. Foss says in his sermon before quoted, "The *two evangels* of *civil* and *religious liberty* are ours." How better could these two great principles be symbolized than by the horns of a lamb? This application is warranted by the facts already set forth respecting the horns of the other powers. For (1) the two horns may belong to one beast,

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A Florida Orange Grove

and denote union instead of division, as in the case of the ram (Daniel 8); (2) a horn may denote a purely ecclesiastical element, as the little horn of Daniel's fourth beast; and (3) a horn may denote the civil power alone, as in the case of the first horn of the Grecian goat. On the basis of these facts we have these two elements, Republicanism and Protestantism, here united in one government, and represented by two horns like the horns of a lamb. And these are *nowhere else to be found;* nor have they appeared, *since the time* when we could consistently look for the rise of the two-horned beast, in any nation upon the face of the earth except our own.

And with these horns there is no objection to be found. They are like those of a lamb, the Bible symbol of purity and innocence. The principles are all right. The outward appearance is unqualifiedly good. But, alas, for our country!

its acts are to give the lie to its profession. The lamblike features are first developed. The outward appearance and the outward profession are at first good. There is nothing to excite suspicion or create apprehension. But this innocent-looking animal afterward speaks; and then a striking phenomenon occurs; for the voice is that of a dragon, denoting tyranny and oppression. This dragon voice is even now beginning to be heard, and is hereafter to be more fully heard, in our own land.

Read and see.

Submarine Boat of the United States Navy

CHAPTER X

FROM the facts thus far elicited in this argument, we have seen that the government symbolized by the two-horned beast must conform to the following specifications:—

1. It must be some government distinct from the powers of the Old World, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

2. It must arise this side the Atlantic.

3. It must be seen coming into influence and notoriety about the year 1798.

4. It must rise in a peaceful manner.

5. Its progress must be so rapid as to strike the beholder with as much wonder as the perceptible growth of an animal before his eyes.

6. It must be a republic.

7. It must exhibit before the world, as an index of its character and the motives by which it is governed, two great principles, in themselves perfectly just, innocent, and lamb-like.

8. It must perform its work in the present period of time.

And we have seen that of these eight specifications two things can be truthfully said: First, that they are *all* perfectly met in the history of the United States thus far; and secondly, that they are *not* met in the history of *any other government on the face of the earth.* Behind these eight

lines of defense, therefore, the argument lies impregnably intrenched.

And the American patriot, the man who loves his country, and takes a just pride in her thus-far glorious record and noble achievements (and who does not so regard it?), needs an argument no less ponderous and immovable, and an array of evidence no less clear, to enable him to accept the painful sequel which the remainder of the prophecy also applies to this government, hitherto the best the world has ever seen; for the prophet immediately turns to a part of the picture which is *dark with injustice,* and marred by oppression, deception, intolerance, and wrong.

After describing the lamblike appearance of this symbol, John immediately adds, "And he *spake as a dragon.*" The dragon (pagan Rome), the first link in this chain of prophecy,

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Cattle Herding on a Texas Prairie

was a relentless persecutor of the church of God. The leopard beast (the papacy) which follows, was likewise a persecuting power, dragonic in spirit, grinding out for 1260 years the lives of millions of the followers of Christ. The third actor in the scene, the two-horned beast, speaks like the first, and thus shows himself to be a dragon at heart; "for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh," and in the heart actions are conceived. This, then, like the others, becomes a persecuting power; and the reason that any of them are mentioned in prophecy is simply because they *are* persecuting powers. God's care for the church, his little flock, is what has led him to give a revelation of his will, and point out the foes with whom they would have to contend. To his church, all the actions recorded of the dragon and leopard beast relate; and in reference to the church, therefore, we conclude that the dragon voice of this power is to be uttered.

The "speaking" of any government must be the public promulgation of its will on the part of its law-making and executive powers. Is this nation, then, to issue unjust and oppressive enactments against the people of God? Are the fires of persecution, which in other ages have devastated other lands, to be lighted here also? We would fain believe otherwise; but notwithstanding the pure intentions of the noble founders of this government, notwithstanding the worthy motives and objects of thousands of Christian patriots to-day, we can but take the prophecy as it reads, and expect nothing less than what it predicts. John heard this power speak, and the voice was that of a *dragon*.

Nor is this so improbable an issue as might at first appear. The people of the United States are not all saints. The masses, notwithstanding all our gospel light and gospel privileges, are still in a position for Satan to fire their hearts

Rifling a Gun in the Gun Shops, Washington Navy Yard

suddenly with the basest of impulses. This nation, as we have seen, is to exist to the coming of Christ; and the Bible very fully sets forth the moral condition of the people in the days that immediately precede that event. Iniquity is to abound, and the love of many to wax cold. Matt. 24:12. Evil men and seducers are to wax worse and worse. 2 Tim. 3:13. Scoffers are to arise, saying, "Where is the promise of his coming?" 2 Peter 3:3, 4. The whole land is to be full of violence, as it was in the days of Noah, and full of licentiousness, as was Sodom in the days of Lot. Luke 17:26-30. And when the Lord appears, faith will scarcely be found upon the earth (Luke 18:8); and those who are ready for his coming will be but a "little flock." Luke 12:32. Can the people of God think to go through this period, and not suffer persecution?— No; this would be contrary to

the lessons taught by all past experience, and just the reverse of what we are warranted by the Word of God to expect. "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution." 2 Tim. 3:12. If ever this was true in the history of the church, we may expect it to be emphatically so when, in the last days, the world is in its aphelion as related to God, and the wicked touch their lowest depths of iniquity and sin.

Let, then, such a general spirit of persecution arise as the foregoing scriptures declare will in the last days exist, and what is more probable than that it should assume an organized form? In this country the will of the people is law. And let there be a general desire on the part of the people for certain oppressive enactments against believers in unpopular doctrines, and what would be more easy and natural than that such desire should immediately crystallize into systematic action, and oppressive measures take the form of law? Then we should have just what the prophecy indicates. Then would be heard the voice of the dragon.

And there are elements already in existence which furnish a luxuriant soil for a baleful crop of future evil. Our nation has grown so rapidly in wealth that it stands to-day as the richest nation in the world. Wealth leads to luxury, luxury to corruption, corruption to the breaking down of all moral barriers; and then the way is open for the worst passions to come to the front, and for the worst principles to bear rule. The prevailing condition of things is graphically described by the late distinguished and devoted J. H. Merle D'Aubigné, author of the "History of the Reformation." Just previous to his death he prepared a paper for the Evangelical Alliance, in which he gave utterance to the following weighty and startling words:—

"If the meeting for which you are assembled is an impor-

tant one, the period at which it is held is equally so, not only on account of the great things which God is accomplishing in the world, but also by reason of the great evils which the spirit of darkness is spreading throughout Christendom. The despotic and arrogant pretensions of Rome have reached in our days their highest pitch, and we are consequently more than ever called upon to contend against that power which dares to usurp the divine attributes. But that is not all. While superstition has increased, unbelief has done so still more. Until now the eighteenth century — the age of Voltaire — was regarded as the epoch of most decided infidelity; but how far does the present time surpass it in this respect! . . . But there is a still sadder feature of our times. Unbelief has reached even the ministry of the Word."

Political corruption is preparing the way for deeper sin. It pervades all parties. Look at the dishonest means resorted to to obtain office,— the bribery, the deceptions, the ballot-stuffing. Look at the stupendous revelations of municipal

Packing Oranges, Florence Villa, Fla.

corruption recently brought before the American public. Look at the civil service of this government. Speaking on this point, *The Nation,* of Washington, D. C., bears striking testimony. It says:—

"The newspapers are generally believed to exaggerate most of the abuses they denounce; but we say deliberately, that no denunciation of the civil service of the United States which has ever appeared in print has come up, as a picture of selfishness, greed, fraud, corruption, falsehood, and cruelty, to the accounts which are given privately by those who have seen the real workings of the machine."

Revelations are continually coming to light, going beyond the worst fears of those who are even the most apprehensive of wrongs committed among all classes of society at the present time. The nation stands aghast to-day at the evidence of corruption in high places which is thrust before its face. Yet a popular ministry, in their softest and most soothing tones, declare that the world is growing better, and sing of a good time coming.

The Detroit *Evening News* says:—

"Washington seems to be ingulfed in iniquity and steeped in corruption. Disclosures of fraud in high places are pushing one another toward the light. . . . Where the black list will stop, Heaven only knows."

Further enumeration is here unnecessary. Enough crops out in every day's history to show that moral principle, the only guaranty for justice and honesty in a government like ours, is sadly wanting.

And evil is also threatening from another quarter. Creeping up from the darkness of the Dark Ages, a monster is intently watching to seize the throat of liberty in our land. It thrusts itself up into the noonday of the twentieth century, not that it may be benefited by its light and freedom, but that it may suppress and obscure them. This monster is po-

Photo by Paul Thompson, N. Y.

Chas. I. Denechaud, of New Orleans, President of the Catholic Federation

litical Romanism. We use the word "political" here because we recognize the fact that there are multitudes of Roman Catholics in this country who do not desire a union of church and state in America; and we preface what we have to say on this subject with an appeal to the liberty-loving, patriotic Catholic people of this country — to those who take their religion but not their politics from Rome — to stand with their fellow-religionists in Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, and the republics of South America, in opposing any movement which would bring the state under the domination of the church.

This appeal is not based upon fancy or groundless alarm. With startling rapidity events of the most ominous significance in this respect are following one another in this country to-day. So strong has the hold of Rome already become upon this government that leading representatives of that church are beginning to talk and act as though this were actually a Catholic nation. It will be appropriate here to make mention of some events of this character.

There was organized in this country in December, 1901,

Photo by Paul Thompson, N. Y.
Anthony Matre, of St. Louis, Mo., Secretary of the Catholic Federation

a Catholic federation, known as the American Federation of Catholic Societies. In the first twelve years of its existence this organization has grown to a membership of 3,000,000, has spread over the entire union of States and even into the island territory of the nation, and has affiliated with it twenty-one national Catholic organizations. This federation was strong enough in 1907 to deter the United States government from taking action for the relief of conditions in the Congo country, in the face of many appeals for intervention from Protestant sources. It has taken care to announce that it is not in politics, meaning by this that it is not in alliance with any one political party; but it has given the plainest evidence that it is in politics in the broadest sense in which it is possible for any religious organization to be in politics,— that is, it is in politics for the purpose of controlling all parties, by holding the balance of political power, which its numerical strength enables it to do. With a growing membership which has now reached the three million mark, it is certain that neither of the two dominant political parties in this country will feel that it can af-

Church News Assn., N. Y.
Bishop McFaul, of Trenton, N. J., Founder of the Catholic Federation

ford to be indifferent to the aid or reckless of the opposition of this organization. The federation is thus virtually in alliance with both the leading parties in the government, and is certain to profit from its position regardless of the varying political fortunes of either one.

The purpose of this organization, it may be stated, is to mold public sentiment and influence legislation, both State and national, in the interests of the Catholic Church. To these ends its energies are constantly directed, as shown by its act of intervention in the Congo question, already mentioned. One chief aim of the federation is the suppression of all anti-Catholic literature, in which effort is included the removal from public libraries of all histories and other books which speak unfavorably of the papacy and the barring of all such books from use in the schools and colleges. In securing control of the education of the rising generation, Rome sees the shortest and easiest way back to the coveted goal of her former supremacy. While we are many generations removed from the Dark Ages chronologically, we are but a single generation distant from that period educationally.

One movement to this end which the federation has inaugurated is of such a sweeping character as to call for particular mention, being nothing less than an effort to debar anti-Catholic literature from circulation in the mails, or even from being offered for sale. The following quotation from the report presented by the national secretary at the tenth annual session of the federation, held at Columbus, Ohio, Aug. 20-24, 1911, shows the ground upon which this statement is made:—

Photo by Paul Thompson, N. Y.

Edward Feeney, of Brooklyn, N. Y., Ex-President of the Catholic Federation

"At the New Orleans Convention held in 1910 your national secretary recommended the framing of a bill which could be enacted into a federal law forbidding the circulation through the mails of defamatory and slanderous works and papers, such as 'The Devil in Robes.' . . . As a result, the following resolution was passed:—

" 'Resolved, That the Congress of the United States be earnestly requested to amend Section 3893 of the revised statutes relating to the mailing of "obscene, lewd, and lascivious" literature so that the same may include the mailing of books, papers, writings, and prints which outrage religious convictions of our citizens and contain scurrilous and slanderous attacks upon our faith.'

"Mr. A. V. D. Watterson, chairman of the law committee,

Church News Assn., N. Y.

Bishop Messmer, of Milwaukee, a Leading Spirit in the Catholic Federation

took up the matter with Hon. Francis J. Burke, a Catholic member of Congress. Mr. Burke informed the federation that the extra session of Congress would hardly consider the matter and advised that the same be taken up next fall, when the regular session of Congress will begin. We hope to be able to report at the next convention that such a measure has been passed by Congress, which will put a stop to the circulation through the mails at least, of books and papers which defame religion and their spiritual leaders."

To perceive the true meaning of this declaration it is only necessary to refer to the fact, which is well known to all who peruse Catholic papers, that the latter often employ the most slanderous and defamatory language in speaking of the religion of Protestants and of leading representatives of Protestantism, living and dead. To obtain a law prohibiting their own journals from making "slanderous attacks" upon the faith and "outraging the religious convictions" of Protestants is not of course what Roman Catholics are after. It is not the faith and religious convictions of others, but of themselves, which they have in mind in this bold move. Note the wording of the following resolution which was adopted at the Columbus convention:—

"Resolved, That the Federation of Catholic Societies do enter their solemn protest against the mailing or offering for sale of obscene literature, including under this title books, papers, writings, and prints which outrage religious convictions of our citizens and contain scurrilous and slanderous attacks upon our faith."

Whose faith? *"Our* faith." "There will be nothing in the proposed legislation," as one Protestant writer observed, "which will interfere in any way with the most outrageous attacks upon Protestants and Protestantism, such as are now found in Roman Catholic publications."

Will Congress accede to this request and enact a law of this character? This remains to be seen; but there is far too much ground for the hopes of Romanists in the matter. If Congress does pass such legislation, all exposures of Romanist errors and evils which may be construed as "slanderous" will become legally "obscene"; and that all truly Protestant writings would soon be included by Romanists in their list of "slanderous" publications is evident without the need of argument. Such legislation "would establish by act of Congress," observes a Protestant writer, "an *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* as extensive as was ever dreamed of by the Spanish Inquisition in its palmiest days."

The Church of Rome is not only rapidly growing in numbers in this country, but she is rapidly growing in power, as this federation indicates, and her utterances show a rapidly increasing boldness and confidence. This once strongly Protestant republic has in fact now come to be regarded by the papacy as presenting the brightest outlook of all lands for its future conquests. While Rome has been losing ground among the nations of Europe, she sees her losses there more than offset by her gains in the giant power of the western hemisphere. As stated in *The Missionary* (organ of the Catholic Mis-

sionary Union, January, 1912), "The Holy Father in his outlook from the watch-tower of the Vatican sees about him the lowering clouds of direful disaster, but away in the west there is the gleam of hope. The westering skies are clear and sunlit. The church in America during these fifty years has leaped from modest beginnings to complete organization. Among the older Catholic nations apostasy is rampant, but in this western world the young giant is sound of limb and wholesome of heart, and he delighteth to run his course."

As evidence that this is the view entertained at the Vatican, the year 1912 was signalized by the creation of three new American cardinals, making four representatives of the United States in the Roman College of Cardinals where there had previously been but one. And this event has been hailed by American Protestants with almost as much enthusiasm as by Romanists themselves. On the arrival of Cardinal Farley at New York after he had received the red hat, he met a demonstration of welcome that was unprecedented. "No other man ever landed at its [New York's] quays," it was stated, "no matter how exalted his character, how great his preeminence as statesman, philanthropist, scholar, was given such a demonstration of public interest." And the like reception was accorded to Cardinal O'Connell on his arrival at Boston. It is perhaps not strange, in view of such tributes of adulation from Protestants, that the claim should be put forth by the hierarchy in this country, as it has been, that these cardinals are princes of a foreign court, and are entitled to be treated as on an equality with princes of royal blood by the American government and people.

"SPIRITUAL OFFICERS OF THE GOVERNMENT"

In October, 1912, Cardinal Farley, on the return journey of his triumphal tour to the Pacific Coast, visited Salt

Photo by Paul Thompson, N. Y.

Cardinals Vannutelli and Farley Arriving in New York City

Lake City, and was escorted from the station to his hotel by a company of United States troops. In defense of this act, *The Inter-Mountain,* a Catholic organ of Salt Lake City, made this statement:—

"The clergy of the Catholic Church are *the invisible spiritual officers of the government,* and entitled to rank high in the nation's roll of honor. Cardinal Farley is no exception to this class." (Italics ours.)

In every possible way the Church of Rome in this country is endeavoring to forge a bond between herself and the government, and obtain governmental recognition of her religion; and it must be said that her efforts are meeting with alarming success. As an example we point to the innovation of the "Thanksgiving Mass" which was inaugurated a few years ago at the national capital, and which has come to be regularly attended by the President of the United States,

Photo by Harris & Ewing, Washington

President Taft Arriving at St. Patrick's Church, Washington, to Attend the "Thanksgiving Mass."

a majority of his Cabinet, the Supreme Court judges, and leading members of Congress. In the press reports of this service care is taken to represent it as the official Thanksgiving celebration. Thus an observance instituted by the Puritans, and having nothing whatever in common with the Catholic Church either historically or religiously, is made use of by the hierarchy to secure recognition of that church by the government and to effect a bond of union between the two.

THE PAPAL PROGRAM FOR AMERICA

The following paragraphs from a confidential letter, written by the late Rev. A. P. Doyle, secretary of the Catholic Missionary Union, addressed to all whose subscriptions for *The Missionary* (official organ of the Apostolic Mission House propaganda by the Paulist Fathers, who conduct missions to non-Catholics) were about to expire, reveals some of the methods which have been and are to be followed in

capturing America for the Church of Rome. It was dated at Brookland Station, Washington, D. C., Feb. 2, 1912:—

"My dear friend: How near at hand do you think is the time when America will be dominantly Catholic? Things move on with rapid strides these days, and the recent creation of three American cardinals has brought the church once more to the forefront. The dominant note in the address of the Holy Father, as well as in the replies of the cardinals, is the hope of wonderful progress among English-speaking peoples. They have all spoken of the 'era of convert making.'

"We must labor to gain the confidence, love, and respect of the American people. This once gained, the Catholic Church in her way to claim the American heart, *may carry a thousand dogmas on her back.*

"Last year our missionaries gave hundreds of missions, and the record of convert making is now away beyond the thirty-five thousand mark each year. Just think what this means!"

America dominantly Catholic! Rome expects to rule, to domineer over Americans. It will also be noted that through craft the papacy will gain the confidence, love, and respect of the American people, and thereby be able to enforce "a thousand dogmas" upon the people.

In an editorial entitled "America, the Church's Land of Promise," priest D. S. Phelan, editor of the *Western Watchman* (St. Louis, Mo.), said, under date of Oct. 29, 1908:—

"His Holiness is enthusiastic over America, especially the United States. To begin with, he likes our government, and our public officials, with whom he has come into official relations. It must be confessed that the United States has treated Rome well whenever we had an opportunity. . . . Despoiled and persecuted in countries called Catholic, hampered and thwarted by Protestant governments, the church is given fair play and even-handed justice *only in the United States.* No wonder, then, the Holy Father feels kindly toward us as a nation. . . . He is amazed at our material and spiritual progress. The church is making advances only in America. . . . The outlook across the water is very discouraging to any but those of the strongest faith. In the midst of the gloom, abandoned by

Photo by Paul Thompson, N. Y.
Cardinal Gibbons, of Baltimore

those who should stand by him in his agony, the Holy Father appeals to this country for comfort and support. And he appeals not in vain. American shoulders are to-day holding up the Vatican. Its revenues are largely derived from this country; and what is now a steady stream will soon be an on-flowing river."

July 11, 1892, the New York *Sun* published a letter from the Vatican announcing the plans of the papacy respecting the United States and the conquest of the world. Note the significance of this communication:—

"What the church has done in the past for others, *she will now do for the United States*. . . . Like all intuitive souls, he [Leo XIII.] hails in the United American States, and in their young and flourishing church, the source of new life for Europeans. *He wants America to be powerful,* in order that Europe may regain strength from borrowing a rejuvenated type. . . . If the United States succeed in solving the many problems that puzzle us, Europe will follow her example, and this outpouring of light will mark a date in the history not only of the United States but of all humanity."

Sept. 5, 1893, Francis Satolli, the personal representative of Pope Leo XIII., and afterwards papal delegate to the United States, delivered the following message from

Leo XIII. to the World's Catholic Congress, in Chicago:—

"In the name of Leo XIII., I salute the great American republic; and I call upon the Catholics of America to go forward, in one hand bearing the book of Christian truth, and in the other the Constitution of the United States. . . . Bring your fellow countrymen, bring your country, into immediate contact with that great secret of blessedness — Christ and his church. . . . Here in America do we have more than elsewhere the key to the future! Here you have a country which will repay all effort not merely tenfold, but aye, a hundredfold! And this no one understands better than the immortal Leo XIII. And he charges me, his delegate, to speak out to America words of hope and blessing, words of joy. Go forward! in one hand bearing the book of Christian truth — the Bible — and in the other the Constitution of the United States."

In his address at the jubilee of Cardinal Gibbons, in Baltimore, Oct. 18, 1893, Archbishop Ireland exclaimed:—

"I preach the new, the most glorious crusade,—church and age! Unite them in mind and heart, in the name of humanity, and in the name of God. Church and Age. . . . Monsignor Satolli [the papal delegate], the church and the age. Rome is the church; America is the age."

Speaking of the presence of the Vice-President of the United States at this jubilee festival at Baltimore, Archbishop Ireland said further:—

"I do not know whether or not you appreciate the full value of the union you see typified here to-night,— the union of the Catholic Church and America; the fraternity between the church and the non-Catholics of the nation. The Vice-President of the United States comes here and takes his seat alongside the cardinal."

Sept. 24, 1894, Bishop Keane returned to America as "the bearer of a rescript from Pope Leo XIII.," described as follows in the public press:—

"The papal rescript elevates the United States to the *first rank* as a *Catholic nation.* Heretofore this country has stood

Photo by Paul Thompson, N. Y.
Archbishop Ireland, of St. Paul, Minn.

before the church as a missionary country. It had no more recognition at Rome than had China. . . . By the new rescript the country is freed from the propaganda, and is *declared to be a Catholic country.*" (Italics ours.)

In his encyclical of Jan. 6, 1895, addressed to the Catholic clergy of America, Pope Leo XIII. said:—

"We highly esteem and love exceedingly the young and vigorous American nation in which we plainly discern latent forces for the advancement alike of civilization and of Christianity. . . . She [the church] would bring forth more abundant fruits, if, in addition to liberty, she enjoyed the *favor of the laws and the patronage of the public authority.*" (Italics ours.)

In his discourse delivered at the laying of the cornerstone of the Marquette University, New Orleans, Nov. 13, 1910, the Rt. Rev. James A. McFaul, D. D., LL. D., bishop of Trenton, N. J., said:—

"We are building up the nation, and the development of this land of promise rests with us; we must expand this republic until it reaches the magnificent proportions of its des-

tiny. . . . The clergy and the laity standing together will bring about this Catholic America and the greatest republic of the ages.

"Looking out into the future I see this splendid consummation. I behold Columbia and the genius of Christianity bearing the cross of Christ and religion with the garlands of liberty and knowledge. . . . The consummation has come, for future generations are celebrating the conversion of America to the faith of Christ. They are all Americans, and they are all Catholics."— *Catholic Standard and Times, Nov. 19, 1910.*

In his address delivered to the Centennial Conference of American Catholics, Baltimore, Md., in November, 1890, Archbishop Ireland spoke of "The New Century — Responsibilities, Hopes, and Duties." He said:—

"Let me state, as I conceive it, the great work which, in God's providence, the Catholics of the United States are called to do in the coming century. It is twofold, — *to make America Catholic,* and to solve for the church universal the all-absorbing problem with which the age confronts her. . . . We can not but believe that a singular mission is assigned to America, glorious for ourselves, and beneficent to the whole race. . . . *The church triumphant in America, Catholic truth will travel on the wings of American influence,* and with it encircle the universe." (Italics ours.)

The whole number of Roman Catholics within the thirteen States, as represented by themselves in the year 1784, was 32,500. By 1790, the number of Catholics had grown to be 44,500. In the year 1776 the ratio of Roman Catholics to the total population was one in 120. Now it is ONE IN SIX. According to the official directory of the Catholic Church, there are to-day 15,154,158 Catholics in the United States alone, while in the outside possessions there are 7,131,989 in the Philippines, a million or more in Porto Rico, 11,510 in Alaska, 42,108 in the Hawaiian Islands, and 900 in the Canal Zone. In all, it will be found that there are 23,329,047 Catholics under the Stars and Stripes.

Cardinal O'Connell, of Boston, Mass.

This 1913 directory states that a new Catholic church is built every day in the year. Following is the distribution of the Catholic population in twenty-five States having the largest number of Catholics: New York, 2,790,629; Pennsylvania, 1,633,353; Illinois, 1,460,987; Massachusetts, 1,383,435; Ohio, 743,065; Louisiana, 584,000; Michigan, 568,505; Wisconsin, 558,476; New Jersey, 506,000; Missouri, 470,000; Minnesota, 454,797; Connecticut, 423,000; California, 403,500; Texas, 306,400; Iowa, 266,735; Maryland, 260,000; Rhode Island, 260,000; Indiana, 232,764; Kentucky, 163,228; New Mexico, 140,573; Kansas, 131,000; Maine, 123,600; Nebraska, 118,270; Colorado, 105,000.

There are in the United States 14,312 Catholic churches, 17,945 priests, 6,169 men and youths studying in 85 seminaries; 230 colleges and academies for boys, and 684 academies for girls. In the 5,256 parochial schools, 1,360,761 boys and girls are receiving their elementary education. Adding to these children the 47,415 orphans in Catholic orphanages, those in detention schools, institutes, academies, high schools and colleges, it will be found that 1,593,316

young people are under Catholic care in the United States.

Indisputable evidence concerning the attitude of the Church of Rome toward popular government, is presented in the following, published in *The Independent* (N. Y.) of June 12, 1913, under the title, "Rome and Democracy":—

"It was in an incidental way, in an editorial on 'The American Pope,' we spoke of our country as one 'whose form of government has been and still is formally condemned by the Church of Rome.' We have been more than once asked to justify that assertion. We said 'formally,' not *specifically*. There has never been a specific mention of our country as having a form of government to be condemned.

"Our form of government is one based wholly on the will of the people. Again, it is a form of government in which the state is free from all control of the church. Again, it is a form of government which requires free public education uncontrolled by any church. All these principles have been formally condemned by Rome. Doubtless many, and we trust most, Catholic leaders in this country accept these American principles, but they are officially condemned; although they are 'tolerated' where this can not be helped, under the consideration of *tolerari posse*, that they can be endured because of the hardness of the American heart.

"First, as to *the will of the people* as the basis of government. The Church of Rome has condemned this principle more than once. Perhaps the latest case was in the letter of Pius X. in 1910 to the Episcopate of France, condemning the liberality of the Sillon. We quote:—

"'The Sillon places the origin of public authority in the people, from whom it goes to the rulers, but in such a way that it continues to rest with the people. This was formally condemned by Leo XIII. in his encyclical *Diuturnum illud* on the Constitution of Christian States, in which he writes: "Many modern thinkers, following in the footsteps of those who in the last century called themselves philosophers, declare that all power comes from the people; that consequently those that exercise power in society do not exercise it of their own authority, but as an authority delegated to them by the people, and on the understanding that it may be revoked by the people.

Catholics, however, hold that the right to rule comes from God as its natural and necessary principle."'

"When the Sillon admitted, as all Christians do, that *all* power comes originally from God, Pius proceeds to show that this does not meet the point; and he further quotes Leo XIII., that election by the people 'may single out the ruler, but it does not confer on him authority to rule, it does not delegate power to him; it simply points out the man who is to exercise it.'

"The American form of government is based on the theory here condemned. It holds that 'those who exercise power in society do not exercise it of their own authority, but as an authority delegated to them by the people, and on the understanding that it may be revoked by the people.' On that understanding Charles I. was beheaded; on that understanding our 'recall' and impeachments, even of a president, are based. This doctrine is implied all through our Constitution, and is definitely stated in the Declaration of Independence, which says, following the 'philosophers' referred to:—

" 'Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed; that when any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.'

"Again, it is one of the principles of our form of government that it shall be *free from church control,* and entirely separated from the church. On this matter it is enough to quote from the Syllabus of Errors promulgated by Pius IX. in 1864. That syllabus was a long list of errors condemned by the pope, acting as he did under the right of infallibility. The following is one of 'the errors of our time which are stigmatized':—

" 'LV. That the church ought to be separated from the state and the state from the church. *(Ecclesia a Statu, Statusque ab Ecclesia sejungendus est).*'

"A third principle of our government, but dependent on the second, is that free *public education should be uncontrolled by the church.* That this principle is condemned by Rome hardly needs evidence, for here at home it is attacked constantly by high ecclesiastics. We satisfy ourselves with quoting from

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Procession at the Jubilee of Cardinal Gibbons

the same syllabus the following 'error,' held by our people, but herein condemned:—

"'XLVII. That the best theory of civil society requires that popular schools open to the children of all classes, and, generally, all public institutes intended for instruction in letters and philosophy, and for conducting the education of the young, should be freed from all ecclesiastical authority, government and interference, and should be fully subject to the civil and political power, in conformity with the will of rulers and the prevalent opinions of the age. *(Populares scholae, quae patent omnibus cujusque ex populo classis pueris).*'

"And one more error condemned:—

"'XLVIII. That the system of instructing youth which consists in separating it from the Catholic faith and from the power of the church, and in teaching exclusively, or at least primarily, the knowledge of natural things, and the earthly ends of social life alone, may be approved by Catholics.'

"It would be easy to add to these three points in which our form of government is formally condemned by the Vatican. One, which it is enough simply to mention, is that it claims the

right to fix the laws of marriage, which the Catholic Church claims for itself. (See 'Syllabus' LXVII, LXVIII, LXXIII, LXXIV.) On this, and on unsectarian education, the church keeps up a more or less persistent conflict, while on others it remains passive, 'tolerating' what it has condemned. To tolerate is much, and a multitude of American Catholics, even of the highest ecclesiastical rank, go so far as to rejoice in separation of church and state, and believe fully in the right of the people to rule."

Aug. 11, 1913, at the annual meeting of the Roman Catholic Federation in Milwaukee, Wis., Archbishops Ireland and Keane made addresses eulogizing American principles of government and representing them as being "in complete agreement" with Catholicism. Whereupon the *Morning Star* of New Orleans, the official organ of Archbishop James H. Blenk, gave utterance to the following sentiments touching the flag, the Constitution, and the Declaration of Independence (Italics ours):—

"The American Federation of Catholic Societies ought, of its own nature, to be a powerful agency for good and an invaluable auxiliary for the advancement of Catholic interests.

"It is unfortunate, therefore, that during the convention which has just come to a close in Milwaukee, some among those who ought to be the leaders of Catholic thought should have given utterance to views which practically nullify the federation's reason for existence. It is sad to note that Their Graces of Dubuque and St. Paul have so far forgotten the encyclical *Longinque oceani* as to seek that cheap glory which is evidently the object of their addresses at the convention, when advancing years ought to warn them that they are nearing that world where, thank God, *there are no Stars and Stripes and no lying Constitution* to receive the adulations which involve a dangerously close kinship with heresy.

"Archbishop Keane says the federation is and ought to be non-political. If so, what is the reason for its existence? How does it expect to accomplish its purpose of applying Catholic principles to the every-day life of our own day? Is it by wasting time and money in incessant and unwieldy gatherings to resolute and resolute again? . . .

Monsignor Falconio, former "Apostolic Delegate" to the United States

"The word Americanism should apparently, by suggesting a certain episode which terminated in the publication of an encyclical of Leo XIII. referred to above, have warned the distinguished prelate [Archbishop Ireland] to be careful; but seemingly he did not heed the warning, for he says: 'The partition of jurisdiction into the spiritual and temporal is a vital principle of Catholicism; no less is it a vital principle of Americanism. Catholicism and Americanism are in complete agreement.'

"That there is a distinction between spiritual and temporal jurisdiction is true enough, but if the archbishop of St. Paul wishes to conclude from this the truth of *the theory of the separation of church and state, as understood by the Constitution of the United States* (which is evidently what he means by the term Americanism in the sentence quoted above), then he had better refer to the syllabus of Pius IX., and to the recent reenactment of its main provisions by the present pontiff, Pius X. It makes absolutely no difference that on account of circumstances the arrangement we are familiar with [in America] may work very well in practise; *the theory is absolutely wrong.* And when Archbishop Ireland refers to it as a principle, 'the vital principle of Americanism,' he presents it as a definite proposition, a formal thesis, or else words have lost their meanings. Now *that thesis is false,* and he knows it, but talks as if he did not for the cheap applause of *brainless patriots* whose allegiance to Christ and his universal kingdom must be lim-

ited and circumscribed and all but destroyed by their *idiotically childish adherence to a scheme of government founded on the sophisms of Jean Jacques Rousseau and his school.* The archbishop knows that our wonderful *Declaration of Independence,* the work of Thomas Jefferson, deist or agnostic according to the fashion of the eighteenth century, *is nothing but a rehash of the Contrat Social,* and differs but little from the famous *Declaration des Droits de l'Homme,* which was so soon to follow it in France."—*Morning Star, Aug. 16, 1913.*

Rome's hatred of the Protestant principles in our government years ago is thus expressed in an article by Dr. O. Brownson, a Protestant pervert, entitled "The Reformation Not Conservative," which appeared in the *Catholic World* for September, 1871 (Vol. XIII, p. 736). Speaking of the United States government and the Constitution, he says:—

"If the American Republic is to be sustained and preserved at all, it must be by the rejection of the principles of the Reformation and the acceptance of the Catholic principle by the American people. . . . Interpreted by the Protestant principle . . . *we do not accept it, or hold it to be any government at all.* (Italics ours.)

In the year 1828, the celebrated Frederick Schlegel, one of the most distinguished Catholics of Europe, delivered lectures at Vienna, on "The Philosophy of History." At the close of his seventeenth lecture (Vol. II, p. 286), he speaks thus of Americans:—

"The true nursery of all these destructive principles, the revolutionary school for France, and the rest of Europe, has been North America. Thence the evil has spread over many other lands, either by natural contagion, or by arbitrary communication."

This eminent Catholic lived for years in Vienna as secretary of the court, and counselor of legation. And it was largely through his influence that there was formed in Austria a society bearing the innocent name of "St. Leopold

Foundation," the true purpose of which was to carry out the well-laid plans of the Holy Alliance, of Europe, to subvert and destroy American liberties and free institutions. This plot was laid bare by our American ambassador at Rome, the distinguished Professor Samuel F. B. Morse, the inventor of the electric telegraph, who, under the signature of Brutus, published a series of articles in the New York *Observer* in the year 1834, under the title of "A Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States."

WHEN ROME BECAME FRIENDLY TO AMERICA

Feb. 29, 1892, the Supreme Court of the United States declared it to be the "meaning" of the Constitution of the United States, and that it is the "voice of the entire" people of this nation, speaking in "organic utterances," that "THIS IS A CHRISTIAN NATION."[1] Upon this official declaration, Rome changed her attitude of hostility toward this government and began to praise it. That gave her the argument she was looking for, and she immediately set up her claim to America by virtue of its discovery by a Catholic. In her eyes the words "Christian" and "Catholic" are synonymous. Rome's first victory was thus scored through a National Reform interpretation of our Constitution. Protestantism, so called, had let down the bars, and Rome stepped in. It is since that time that the pope of Rome has had nothing but eulogies for America, calling this nation "the flower of Catholicism," "the blooming youth of Catholicism," etc.

Some of the methods by which Rome is working to realize her cherished plan "to make America Catholic," are outlined in the following:—

1. Missions to non-Catholics in churches and chapel cars,

[1]For a more full reference to this decision see p. 404.

conducted by the Paulist Fathers, trained at the Apostolic Mission House, Catholic University, Washington, D. C.

2. Improvement of every opportunity to unite the church and state, in public processions, Thanksgiving ceremonies attended by the President, members of the Cabinet, and other state officials.

3. Fostering Catholic immigration to America by arrangement with steamship companies, and through organization of immigration bureau of the church.

4. Romanizing the great American cities for political control and control of metropolitan newspapers.

5. The boycott for merchants and business houses advertising their wares in anti-papal papers and magazines.

6. Securing positions of power in the government for the upbuilding of the church, and the securing of information for the papacy.

7. The censorship of all public libraries, involving the elimination of staunch Protestant books, papers, and magazines from the shelves and tables. Usually done by securing the appointment of a Catholic librarian, reader, or other official.

8. Romanizing the sources of historic information, such as "Webster's Dictionary," "Myers' Medieval and Modern History," "Sheldon's History," "Swinton's Outlines of History," "Anderson's General History," "The New International Encyclopedia" (Dodd, Meade & Co.), "The Encyclopedia Americana," etc.

9. The formation of a large army of drilled Catholic soldiers, through the organizations known as the Knights of Columbus, Ancient Order of Hibernians, etc.— nearly one million strong.

10. Securing control of the army and the navy. The one in charge of West Point is Catholic.

Photo by Paul Thompson, N. Y.

Knights of Columbus at the Dedication of St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York City

11. Soliciting the gift of land by municipalities, States, and the national government for use of the church.

12. Spying upon government secrets through appointment of Catholics as private secretaries or clerks in the offices of President, senators, representatives, and elsewhere.

13. Spying upon the families of prominent Protestants through Catholic valets, housemaids, and cooks.

14. Romanizing theatrical plays and moving pictures, educating the people to admire Catholic priests and nuns as heroes and heroines in the plays.

15. Securing the enactment of laws creating Catholic festival days, such as Columbus day (already adopted in thirty States), St. Patrick's day, Good Friday, etc.

16. Accumulating great wealth through the non-taxation of church property. There is no greater power in the world to-day than wealth.

17. Securing the appointment of Supreme Court jus-

tices, circuit court judges, and juvenile court judges. A tremendous power in the hands of the church, for it has been said that America is a land governed by judges.

18. Securing the control of the police forces of American cities. She now controls ninety-two per cent of the positions.

19. By forming "a solid block in the midst of a heap of crumbling Protestant fragments," and a united vote, Rome is succeeding in holding the "balance of power" in America, Great Britain, and Germany. She stands in the middle of the political teeter board.

20. Bringing pressure to bear upon State and national legislatures through votes of the "American Federation of Catholic Societies."

21. Accumulating wealth through the free labor of Catholic and Protestant slaves in her private prisons known as Houses of the Good Shepherd, monasteries, and convents. These institutions compete with laundries and other firms which are obliged to pay taxes and wages besides.

22. Inveigling Protestant children into convents, to secure their services or convert them to the Catholic faith.

23. Railroading Protestant children to Catholic private institutions through Catholic judges of juvenile courts.

24. Waging war upon the "godless" public schools, which have done so much to Americanize and Protestantize the children of Catholic immigrants.

25. Demanding a division of the public school funds raised by taxation to defray the expenses of her parochial school system.

26. Securing the lion's share of appointments of chaplains in the War and Navy Departments. According to the *Columbian* (Chicago, Ill.,) of May 9, 1913: "Of the eighty-nine chaplains in both arms of service, twenty-one are of the

Catholic faith, and yet we have no President of that denomination."

27. Professing to be the champion of religious liberty and republicanism, while officially teaching the very opposite in her school text-books.

28. Maintaining a papal legation in Washington, with an accredited delegate from the Vatican, to accustom the American people to the idea of a papal minister to this government.

29. Establishing wireless stations in the Vatican, and all Jesuit institutions. The papacy will thus be in touch with war messages of the government, etc.

30. Enriching the coffers of the convents by the begging of nuns in government institutions on pay-day, in the public markets, where wagon-loads of vegetables, meats, and other provisions are secured for the use of said institutions. This increases the cost of living for other people.

31. Profiting from the American weakness for marrying foreign titles conferred upon Catholic young men by the pope.

32. Marrying Catholics into millionaire Protestant homes.

33. Securing the use of public school buildings for religious teaching after school hours.

34. Securing the appointment of Catholics on official boards of the Federal Council of Protestant Churches, in New York City, and elsewhere.

35. Uniting with the Federal Council of Protestant Churches in the enforcement of Sunday laws.

A Military Field Mass has now for several successive years been celebrated upon government grounds at Brooklyn, N. Y., and at Washington, D. C., the latter being attended by the President and other officials of state.

Military Field Mass at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, N. Y.

"Columbus day" is a new holiday which the Catholic church is seeking to establish in this country by governmental sanction, the celebration of which will be by Roman Catholic parades through the streets, the performance of masses, the delivery of orations eulogizing Columbus as a Catholic and claiming all the results of his discovery as belonging to the Catholic Church. Already in thirty States of the Union legislation has been secured under Roman Catholic influence making this day a legal holiday, and Congress is being importuned to legalize the day in the District of Columbia. A monument to Columbus was unveiled in Washington under Catholic auspices June 8, 1912, for the erection of which Catholics had secured from Congress an appropriation of $100,000.

At the laying of the corner-stone of a Catholic church in New York City, April 28, 1912, Very Rev. John P. Chidwick delivered a sermon in which he said, "In this country the [Catholic] church and the government are in sympathy."

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT DOES HOMAGE TO THE PAPACY

In its issue of June 15, 1911, the *Review and Herald*, of Washington, D. C., published the following:—

"One of the most significant events in the history of this country occurred at Baltimore, Md., June 6. The occasion was the fiftieth anniversary of the elevation of James Cardinal Gibbons, of the Roman Catholic Church, to priesthood in that church, and the twenty-fifth anniversary of his elevation to the office of cardinal, or, as it is termed, 'the elevation to the rank of prince in the Roman Catholic hierarchy.' There were present on this occasion President Taft, Vice-President Sherman, former President Roosevelt, Chief Justice White of the Supreme Court, Speaker Champ Clark of the House of Representatives, Ambassador James Bryce of Great Britain, and members of both houses of Congress, besides the governor of Maryland and the mayor of Baltimore. Speeches were made by the President, the Vice-President, Mr. Roosevelt, and Speaker Champ Clark. In one of the reports of this gathering there is this significant statement: 'The business of the United States government, superficially at least, was at a standstill for four hours yesterday on account of the exodus of public men to attend the anniversary ceremonies in honor of Cardinal Gibbons at Baltimore. The Senate adjourned shortly after two, so that most of the members could get away early. Assistant secretaries held down the lid in most of the government departments, most of the Cabinet officers going to Baltimore on the President's special train.' It appears then that the government of the United States for a period of four hours was doing homage to a prince of the Roman Catholic Church, while its highest officials, both executive and judicial, were present to take part in these sectarian felicitations. The President himself recognized the occasion as being one very far out of the ordinary, but seems to have given a partial apology for his presence when he stated that those who were present were there as citizens and not in any official capacity. This incident marks another long step forward in the church's program, and ought to be a striking contradiction of the statement — often made by uninformed Protestants — that the influence of Roman Catholicism is waning in the United States."

Archbishop Bonzano, Papal Delegate to the United States

The hope that under the administration of President Wilson a halt would be called upon the coming together of the government and the Catholic Church in the "official" Thanksgiving celebration at Washington, was rudely dissipated by the attendance of President Wilson and Secretary of State Bryan at the "Thanksgiving mass" in St. Patrick's church, Nov. 27, 1913. And this was done in the face of strong protests made by numerous patriotic societies, and other bodies representing such prominent religious bodies as the Presbyterian Church (to which President Wilson belongs), the Episcopal, Lutheran, Baptist, and Disciple churches, the Christian Endeavor Union, and the Pastors' Federation of Washington, D. C. As reported in the Washington *Star* of November 18, the sentiment of these bodies was expressed as follows:—

"For the last three or four years there has been celebrated in St. Patrick's church, in this city, on Thanksgiving day, a solemn high mass, at which the President of the United States and some members of his Cabinet, the Chief Justice and several other justices of the Supreme Court, with a number of

The Papal Legation at Washington

senators and members of Congress, have attended as the guests of honor.

"This service is now called in the public press 'the official celebration of Thanksgiving day,' and is described in the bulletin of the Pan-American republics as having an 'official' character, and every effort is made by the Roman hierarchy to give this Roman mass the color of an official function — as if

it were generally recognized as a national service, and as if the President and his Cabinet by their presence wished it to be so recognized (which we are sure is not the case).

"One of the organs of the Roman Catholic press (the *Catholic Citizen* of Milwaukee) states that 'the Pan-American Thanksgiving day high mass is now a permanent institution at the national capital,' and says further, 'One day in the year in which the bountiful Giver of all good things is acknowledged by the nation, as a nation — this expression of gratitude is made in a Catholic church, around a Catholic altar, by means of the one Catholic worship that is worthy of God, the sacrifice of the mass.'

"The attendance of our chief magistrate and members of his Cabinet not once, but year after year, for three or four years, has been made use of to give color to the Roman claim that this service is now the official celebration of Thanksgiving day in our national capital.

"This fact has been understood, both in the United States and in foreign countries, to give the Roman Catholic Church a prestige and a prominence over all other churches, and has even been believed by people in Brazil and in Italy to show that America is not a Protestant but a Roman Catholic country.

"Therefore resolved, that we protest against the presumption of the Roman Catholic press in putting forward the claims that the Roman mass is the official celebration of Thanksgiving day in the capital of the republic.

"That we protest against the attempt to convert our national Thanksgiving day into a Roman Catholic festival, in a service entirely out of harmony with the history of the genius of our country and the spirit and purpose of the day.

"That we desire to give voice to the wide-spread feeling of indignation among the millions of Protestants in America against the efforts of the Roman press and the Roman hierarchy to exploit the attendance of our chief magistrate and some of his Cabinet (which we are convinced has only been intended as an act of courtesy and good will) for the purpose of glorifying the Roman Catholic Church and giving this service an official character, which it does not and can not possess."

As the event proved, the Roman Catholic Church has more influence with the Protestant President and Secretary of State than the Protestant churches have; and though Prot-

estants outnumber Romanists in the United States five to one, the latter have the press of the country so completely muzzled that scarcely a paper can be found that is willing to publish a protest against their encroachments upon American principles and liberties. Here is food for sober Protestant thought.

Rome is destined to play an important part in our future troubles; for it is symbolized by the very beast which the two-horned beast is to cause the earth and them that dwell therein to worship, and before whose eyes it is to perform its wonders. Rev. 13: 12, 13.

Such are some of the elements already at work; such is the direction in which events are moving. And how much farther is it necessary that they should progress in this manner before an open war-cry from the masses, of persecution against those whose simple adherence to the Bible shall put to shame their man-made theology, and whose godly lives shall condemn their wicked practises, would seem in no wise startling or incongruous?

But some may say, through an all-absorbing faith in the increasing virtue of the American people, that they do not believe that the United States will ever raise the hand of persecution against any class. Very well. This is not a matter over which we need to indulge in any controversy. No process of reasoning nor any amount of argument can ever show that it will *not* be so. We think we have shown good ground for strong probabilities that this government may yet adopt the principles of the papacy and commit itself to the work of religious persecution; and we shall present further evidence, in connection with significant movements which are taking place in the Protestant churches. (See Chapters XIV, XVI.) As we interpret the prophecy, we look upon it as inevitable. Already, indeed, the spirit of persecution has

shown itself in many parts of this country, and men h
been brought into court, fined, and imprisoned for follow
God's example in working the first six days of the we
and resting on the seventh. But the full decision of
question must be left to time; we can neither help nor hin
its work. Time will soon correct all errors, and solve
doubts, on this question.

The Old Liberty Bell

CHAPTER XI

IN further predicting the work of the two-horned beast, the prophet says, "He exerciseth all the power of the first beast before him, and causeth the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed. And he *doeth great wonders,* so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men." This language is urged by some to prove that the two-horned beast must be some power which holds the reins of government in the very territory occupied by the first, or preceding, beast, which is the papacy; for, otherwise, how could he exercise his power?

If the word "before" denoted precedence in time, and the first, or papal, beast passed off the stage of action when the two-horned beast came on, just as Babylon gave place to Persia, which then exercised all the power of Babylon before it, there would be some plausibility in this claim. But the Greek word rendered "before" is *enopion,* which means, literally, "in the presence of." And so the language, instead of proving what is claimed, becomes a most positive proof that these two beasts — the leopard papal beast and the two-horned beast — are distinct from each other, and contemporary powers.

The first beast is in existence, having all its symbolic vi-

tality, at the very time the two-horned beast is exercising power in his presence. But this could not be if his dominion had passed into the hands of the two-horned beast; for a beast, in prophecy, ceases to exist when his dominion is taken away. What caused the change in the symbols, as given in the seventh chapter of Daniel, from the lion, representing Babylon, to the bear, representing Persia?— Simply a transfer of dominion from Babylon to Persia. And so the prophecy explains the successive passing away of these beasts, by saying that their *"lives* were *prolonged,"* but their "dominion was taken away" (verse 12); that is, the territory of the kingdom was not blotted from the map, nor the lives of the people destroyed, but there was a transfer of power from one nationality to another. So the fact that the leopard beast, here in Revelation 13, is spoken of as still an existing power when the two-horned beast works in his presence, is proof that he is, at that time, in possession of all the dominion that was ever necessary to constitute him a symbol in prophecy.

What power, then, does the two-horned beast exercise? Not the power which belongs to, and is in the hands of, the leopard, or papal, beast, surely; but he exercises, or essays to exercise, in his presence, power of the *same kind* and to the *same extent.* The power which the first beast exercised,— that alone with which the prophecy is concerned,— was a terrible power of oppression against the people of God (verse 7); and this is a further indication that the character which the two-horned beast is finally to sustain will be that of an oppressor and persecutor.

The latter part of the verse, "And causeth the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed," is still further proof that the two-horned beast is no phase nor feature of the papacy; for the

papal beast is certainly competent to enforce his own worship in his own territory, and from his own subjects. But it is the two-horned beast which causes the earth (not the whole earth in its generic sense, but the earth, meaning simply that territory out of which it arose, and over which it rules), and them which dwell therein, to worship the first beast. This shows that this beast occupies territory over which the first beast, in its organized form, has no jurisdiction.

"He doeth great wonders, so that he maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men." In this specification we have still further proof that our own government is the one represented by the two-horned beast. That we are living in an age of wonders, none can deny. Time was, and that not two score years ago, when the bare mention of achievements which now constitute the warp and woof of everyday life, was considered the wildest chimera of a diseased imagination. Now, nothing is too wonderful to be believed, nor too strange to happen. Go back only a little more than half a century, and the world, with respect to those things which tend to domestic convenience and comfort,— the means of illumination, the production and application of heat, and the performance of various household operations; with respect to methods of rapid locomotion from place to place, and the transmission of intelligence from point to point, stood about where it stood in the days of the patriarchs. Suddenly the waters of that long stream over whose drowsy surface scarcely a ripple of improvement had passed for three thousand years, broke into the white foam of violent agitation. The world awoke from the slumber and darkness of ages. The divine finger lifted the seal from the prophetic books, and brought that predicted period when men should run to and fro, and knowledge should be increased. Dan. 12:4. Then men bound the elements

to their chariots, and, reaching up, laid hold upon the very lightning, and made it their message-bearer around the world. Nahum foretold that at a certain time the chariots should be with flaming torches and run like the lightnings. Nahum 2:3, 4. Who can behold, in the darkness of the night, the locomotive dashing over its iron track, the fiery glare of its great lidless eye driving the shadows from its path, and torrents of smoke and sparks and flame pouring from its burning throat, and not realize that ours are the eyes that are privileged to look upon a fulfilment of Nahum's prophecy? But when this should take place, the prophet said that the times would be burdened with the solemn work of God's "preparation."

"Canst thou send lightnings," said God to Job, "that they may go, and say unto thee, Here we are?" Job 38:35. If Job were living to-day, he could answer, Yes. It is one of

Empire State Express, New York Central Railway

the current sayings of our time that "Franklin tamed the lightning, and Professor Morse taught it the English language."

So in every department of the arts and sciences, the advancement that has been made within the last half century is without precedent in the world's history. And in all these the United States takes the lead. These facts are not, indeed, to be taken as a fulfilment of the prophecy; for the prophecy brings to view wonders of another kind wrought by preternatural power, *for the purpose of deception.* But these achievements of science show the spirit of the age in which we live, and point to this time as a period when we may look for wonders of every kind.

The wonders to which the prophecy (Revelation 13) refers are evidently wrought for the purpose of deceiving the people; for verse 14 reads, "And deceiveth them that dwell on the earth by means of those miracles which he had power to do in the sight of the beast."

THE TWO-HORNED BEAST THE SAME AS THE FALSE PROPHET OF CHAPTER 19.

The work attributed in verse 14, just quoted, to the two-horned beast, identifies this power with the false prophet of Rev. 19:20; for this false prophet is the agency that works miracles before the beast, "with which," says John, *"he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshiped his image,"*— the very actions which the two-horned beast is to cause men to perform. We can now ascertain by what means the miracles in question are wrought; for Rev. 16:13, 14, speaks of *spirits of devils* working miracles, which go forth unto the kings of the earth and the whole world, to gather them to the battle of the great day of God Almighty; and these miracle-working spirits go forth out of the

mouths of certain powers, one of which is *this very false prophet,* or two-horned beast.

Miracles are of two kinds, true and false, just as we have a true Christ and false christs, true prophets and false prophets, true apostles and false apostles. By a false miracle we mean, not a miracle apparently false, a pretended miracle, which is no miracle at all, but a real miracle, a supernatural performance, but one wrought *in the interest of falsehood,* for the purpose of deceiving the people, or of proving a lie. The miracles of this power are real miracles, but they are wrought for the purpose of deception. The prophecy does not read that he deceived the people by means of the miracles which he *claimed* that he was able to perform, or which he pretended to do, but which he *had power* to do.

Miracles, or wonders, such as are to be wrought by the two-horned beast, and, withal, as we think, the very ones referred to in the prophecy, are mentioned by Paul in 2 Thess. 2:9, 10. Speaking of the second coming of Christ, he says, "Whose [Christ's] coming is after [*kata,* at the time of, 2 Tim. 4:1][1] the working of Satan with all power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of unrighteousness in them that perish, because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved." These are no sleight-of-hand performances, but such a working of Satan as the world has never before that time seen. To work with *all* power and signs and lying wonders, is certainly to do a real and an astounding work, but one which is designed to prove a lie.

[1]The one whose coming is referred to in 2 Thess. 2:9 is shown by the connection to be the same as the one whose coming is spoken of in verse 8; and that is Christ. In the original the connection is very direct; thus, *katargesei te epifaneia tes parousias autou, ou estin e parousia kat energeian tou Satana,* etc. There would seem to be no question but that the relative *ou* must refer to the preceding *autou* as its antecedent; for the sentence literally reads, "And shall [illegible]y with the brightness of *his* coming, the coming *of whom* is after the [illegible] of Satan," etc. In this case we can not give to *kata* the definition of

The Late W. T. Stead, Noted English Journalist and Spiritualist, who Established a "Bureau" for Communication with the Dead. Mr. Stead's grown daughter, Estelle, affirms that her father has several times plainly appeared to her since his death at the sinking of the "Titanic."

Again, the Saviour, predicting events to occur just before his second coming, says, "There shall arise false christs and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders; insomuch that if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect." Here, again, are wonders foretold, wrought for the purpose of deception, so powerful that were it possible even the very elect, our Saviour says, would be deceived by them.

Thus we have a series of prophecies setting forth the development, in the last days, of a wonder-working power, manifested to a startling and unprecedented degree in the interest of falsehood and error. All refer to one and the same thing. The earthly government with which it was to be especially connected is that represented by the two-horned beast,

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"through," "by means of," or "according to," as it frequently means; for the coming of Christ is not "by means of," or "according to," the working of Satan. But *kata* has another definition when used with an accusative, and when referring to time. It then means, "within the range of, during, in the course of, at about" (Bagster's Analytical Greek Lexicon). It is here used with the acusative, *energeian*, and although the word is not directly a noun of time, it is a word which necessarily involves the idea of duration; for the working of Satan must occupy time. We submit, therefore, that it may here receive one of the definitions last mentioned, and be rendered "at the time of." The whole passage would then read: "Whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming; whose coming is *at the time of* the working of Satan with all power," etc. Thus rendered, the passage becomes parallel to that of 2 Tim. 4: 1, where *kata* is properly rendered "at," meaning "at the time of;" thus, "I charge thee therefore before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and the dead *at* his appearing [*kata ten epifaneian autou*] and his kingdom."

Photo by Paul Thompson, N. Y.

Sir Oliver Lodge, President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. On the occasion of assuming the presidency Sir Oliver made an address in support of the doctrine of soul immortality which is said to have "profoundly stirred" two continents.

or false prophet. The agency lying back of the outward manifestations was to be satanic, "the spirits of devils," for the prophecy which sets forth this work reads as follows: "I saw three unclean spirits like frogs, come out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet [the two-horned beast], for they are the spirits of devils working miracles, which go forth unto the kings of the earth, and of the whole world, to gather them to the battle of that great day of God Almighty." Rev. 16:13, 14.

The prophecy, according to the application made of it in this book, calls for such a work as this in our own country at the present time. Do we behold anything like it? Read the answer in the lamentation of the prophet: "Woe to the inhabiters of the earth and of the sea! for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time." Rev. 12:12. Stand aghast, O Earth! tremble, ye people, but be not deceived. The huge specter of evil confronts us, as the prophet declared. Satan is loosed. From the depth of Tartarus myriads of demons

swarm over the land. The prince of darkness manifests himself as never before, and stealing a word from the vocabulary of heaven to designate his work, he calls it — *Spiritualism.*

Camille Flammarion, Noted French Astronomer and Spiritualist

1. Does Spiritualism, then, bear these marks of satanic agency?

(1) The spirits which communicate claim to be the spirits of our departed friends. But the Bible, in the most explicit terms, assures us that the dead are wholly inactive and unconscious till the resurrection; that the dead know not anything (Eccl. 9:5); that every operation of the mind has ceased (Ps. 146:4); that every emotion of the heart is suspended (Eccl. 9:6); and that there is neither work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave where they lie. Eccl. 9:10. Whatever intelligence, therefore, comes to us professing to be one of our dead friends, comes claiming to be what, from the Word of God, we know he is not. He comes with a lie in his mouth. But angels of God do not lie; therefore these are not the good angels. Spirits of devils will lie; this is their work; and these are the credentials which at the very outset they hand us.

(2) The doctrines which they teach are from the lowest and foulest depths of the pit of lies. They deny God. They deny Christ. They deny the atonement. They deny the Bible. They deny the existence of sin, and all distinction between right and wrong. They deny the sacredness of the marriage relation; and, interspersing their utterances with the most horrid blasphemies against God and his Son, and everything that is lovely, and good, and pure, they give the freest license to every propensity to sin, and to every carnal and fleshly lust. Tell us not that these things, openly taught under the garb of religion, and backed up by supernatural sights and sounds, are anything less than Satan's masterpiece.

2. Spiritualism answers accurately to the prophecy in the exhibition of great signs and wonders. Among its many achievements these may be mentioned: Various articles have been transported from place to place by spirits alone. Beautiful music has been produced without any visible human agency, with and without the aid of visible instruments. Many well-attested cases of healing have been presented. Persons have been carried through the air by the spirits in the presence of many others. Tables have been suspended in the air with several persons upon them. Hands have appeared projecting from the surface of tables, and on being clasped by the hands of spectators have dissolved into vapor. And finally, spirits have presented themselves in bodily form, and talked with an audible voice.

3. Spiritualism answers to the prophecy in that it had its origin in our own country, thus connecting its wonders with the work of the two-horned beast. Commencing in Hydesville,[1] N. Y., in the family of Mr. John D. Fox, in the latter part of March, 1848, it spread with incredible ra-

[1] This place is near Rochester, N. Y.; hence the phenomenon was known at first as the "Rochester Knockings."

The Fox Sisters, at Whose Home in Hydesville, N. Y., the First Manifestations of Modern Spiritualism, Known as the "Rochester Knockings," Took Place in 1848.

pidity through all the States. It would be impossible to state the number of Spiritualists in this country at the present time. In 1876, only twenty-eight years from the commencement of this remarkable movement, estimates of the number of its adherents were made by different persons, which, though differing somewhat from one another, are nevertheless such as to show that the progress of Spiritualism has been without a parallel. Thus, Judge Edmonds puts the number at five or six million (5,000,000 or 6,000,000); Hepworth Dixon, three million (3,000,000); A. J. Davis, four million two hundred and thirty thousand (4,230,000); Warren Chase, eight million (8,000,000); and the Roman Catholic Council at Baltimore, between ten and eleven million (10,000,000 to 11,000,000). Of those who have become its devotees, Judge Edmonds said as long ago as 1853:—

"Besides the undistinguished multitude, there are many now of high standing and talent ranked among them,—doctors, lawyers, and clergymen in great numbers, a Protestant bishop, the learned and reverend president of a college, judges of our higher courts, members of Congress, foreign ambassadors, and ex-members of the United States Senate."

Among the latter-day converts of Spiritualism may be named such men of note as Sir William Crookes and Sir Oliver Lodge, leading English scientists, Cæsare Lombroso,

The Late Dr. I. K. Funk, of the Publishing Firm of Funk & Wagnalls, New York

Italian scientist, Pia Foa, Italian scientist and educator, Camille Flammarion, the French astronomer, and the late W. T. Stead, the English journalist, who opened a "bureau" for "communicating with the spirit world." In the United States the late Dr. I. K. Funk was a strong believer in Spiritualism, and the possibility of communication between the living and the dead has been advocated in such prominent magazines as the *Ladies Home Journal* and *The Delineator*.

One reason why it is now difficult to estimate the number of those who might properly be denominated Spiritualists, is that the more prominent and respectable of the adherents of this movement are drawing under cover the obnoxious and immoral features of the system, heretofore so prominent, and assuming a Christian garb. By this move they bring themselves and a multitude of church-members upon common ground, where there is no distinction between them in fact, though there may still be some in name.

And from this nation Spiritualism has gone abroad into all the earth. It is working its way to the potentates of the

Photo by Boston Photo-News Co.

"Christian Science" Church, Boston, Mass.

earth, and is fast preparing to accomplish its real mission, which is, by deceiving the world with its miracles, to gather the nations to the battle of the great day of God Almighty. Rev. 16: 13, 14.

Here we pause. Let this work go on a little longer, as it has been going, and as it is still going, and what a scene is before us! Having seen so much fulfilled, we can not now draw back and deny the remainder. And so we look for the onward march of this last great wonder-working deception, till that is accomplished which in the days of Elijah was a test between Jehovah and Baal, and fire is brought down from heaven to earth in the sight of men. Rev. 13: 13. Then will be the hour of the powers of darkness,— the "hour of temptation" that is coming upon all the world to try them that

dwell upon the earth. Rev. 3:10. Then all will be swept from their anchorage by the strong current of delusion, except those whom it is not possible to deceive — the elect of God. Matt. 24:24.

And still the world sleeps on, while Satan, with lightning fingers and hellish energy, weaves over them his last fatal snare. It is time some mighty move was made to waken the world, and arouse the church to the dangers we are in. It is time every honest heart should learn that the only safeguard against the great deception, whose incipient, and even well advanced, workings we already behold before our eyes, is to make the truths of God's holy and immutable Word our shield and buckler.

Electric Engine in Use in the Pennsylvania R. R. Tunnels in New York City: One of the Most Powerful Locomotives in the World

"AN IMAGE TO THE BEAST"

CHAPTER XII

THE imposing miracles wrought before the people having riveted upon them the chains of a fatal deception, leading them to suppose they have witnessed the great power of God, and must therefore be doing him service, when they have only been dazed with a mighty display of satanic wonders, and are led captive by the devil at his will, they are prepared to do the further bidding of the two-horned beast, which is to make an image to the beast which had the wound by a sword, and did live. Rev. 13:14.

Once more we remind the reader of the impregnable strength of the argument already presented in previous chapters, fixing the application of this symbol to the United States. This is an established proposition, and needs no further support. An exposition of the remainder of the prophecy will therefore consist chiefly of an effort to determine what acts are to be performed by this government, and a search for indications, if any exist, that they are about to be accomplished. If we shall find evidences springing up on all sides that this government is now moving as rapidly as possible in the very direction marked out by the prophet, these indications, though not necessary to establish the application of the symbol to this government, will serve to stifle

the last excuse of skepticism, and become to the believer an impressive evidence of our proximity to the end; for the acts ascribed to this symbol are but few, and while yet in mid-career, it, that is, the nation symbolized by it, is engulfed in the lake of fire of the last great day.

We may, however, notice in passing, another evidence that the government symbolized by the two-horned beast is certainly a republic. This is proved by the language used respecting the formation of the image. It does not read that this power, as an act of imperial or kingly authority, makes an image to the beast; but it *says to them that dwell on the earth,* that is, the people occupying the territory where it arises, that *they* should make an image to the beast. Appeal is made to the people, showing conclusively that the power is in their hands. But just as surely as the government symbolized is a *republic,* so surely it is none other than the United States of America.

We have seen that the wonder-working, satanic agencies which are to perform the foretold miracles, and prepare the people for the next step in the prophecy,— the formation of the image,— are already in the field, and have even now wrought out a work of vast proportions in our country; and we now hasten forward to the very important inquiry, What will constitute the image, and what steps are necessary to its formation?

The people are to be called upon to make an image *to* the beast, which expression doubtless involves the idea of some deferential action toward, or concessions to, that power; and the image, when made, is an image, likeness, or representation *of* the beast. Verse 15. The beast after which the image is modeled is the one which had a wound by a sword, and did live; that is, the papacy. From this point is seen the collusion of the two-horned beast with the leopard, or pa-

pal, beast. He does great wonders in the sight of that beast: he causes men to worship that beast; he leads them to make an image to that beast; and he causes all to receive a mark, which is the mark of that beast.

To understand what would be an image of the papacy, we must first gain some definite idea of what constitutes the papacy itself. Papal supremacy dates from the time when the decree of Justinian constituting the pope the head of the church and the corrector of heretics, was carried into effect in A. D. 538. The papacy, therefore, was a church clothed with civil power,— an ecclesiastical body having authority to punish all dissenters with confiscation of goods, imprisonment, torture, and death. What would be an image of the papacy? —*Another ecclesiastical* establishment clothed with similar power. How could such an image be formed in this country? It is not difficult to conceive a state of things — a state of things by no means impossible, and according to present prospects not even improbable — which would meet the prophecy precisely. Let the Protestant churches in our land be clothed with power to define and punish heresy, to enforce their dogmas under the pains and penalties of the civil law, and should we not have an exact representation of the papacy during the days of its supremacy?

It may be objected that whereas the papal church was controlled by a central head, and hence could act in harmony in all its departments in enforcing its dogmas, the Protestant church is so divided as to be unable to agree in regard to what doctrines shall be made imperative on the people. We answer, There are certain points which they hold in common, and which are sufficient to form a basis of cooperation. Chief among these may be mentioned the doctrine of the "conscious state of the dead" and "the immortality of the soul," which is both the foundation and the superstructure

of Spiritualism; and also the doctrine that "the first day of the week is the Christian Sabbath."

It may be objected, again, that this view makes one of the horns of this two-horned beast, the Protestant church, finally constitute the image of the papal beast. If the reader supposes that the Protestant church constitutes one of the horns of the two-horned beast, we reply that this is a conception of his own. No such idea is here taught; and we mention this objection only because it has been actually urged as a legitimate consequence of the positions here taken. The question is also asked, If the Protestant church constitutes one horn, may not the Catholic Church constitute the other? Under the shadow of that hypothetical "if," perhaps it might. But neither the one nor the other performs such an office. In chapter IX of this work it has been shown that the two great *principles* — Republicanism and Protestantism — were the proper objects to be symbolized by these two lamblike horns. But there is the plainest distinction between Protestantism

Homes of the Cliff Dwellers

as an embodiment of the great principle of religious liberty, and the different religious bodies that have grown up under its fostering influence,— just as plain as there is between Republicanism, or civil liberty, and the different political parties which live in the enjoyment of such liberty. The supposition, therefore, that the Protestant church is the source from which is to be drawn the material out of which is to be constructed the image of the beast, involves no violation of the symbolic harmony of this prophecy.

Let us look a moment at the fitness of the material. We are not unmindful of the noble service the Protestant churches have rendered to the world, to humanity, and to religion, by introducing and defending, so far as they have, the great principles of Protestantism. But they have made a fatal mistake in stereotyping their doctrines into creeds, and thus taking the first step backward toward the spiritual tyranny of Rome. Thus the good promise they gave of a free religion and an unfettered conscience is already broken; for if the right of private judgment is allowed by the Protestant church, why are men condemned and expelled from that church for no other crime than honestly attempting to obey the Word of God, in some particulars not in accordance with her creed? This is the beginning of denominational apostasy. Read Chas. Beecher's work, "The Bible a Sufficient Creed." "Is not the Protestant church," he asks, "apostate?" Is not the apostasy which we have reason to fear "already formed"? But apostasy in principle always leads to corruption in practise. And so Paul, in 2 Tim. 3: 1-5, sets forth the condition of the professed church of Christ in the last days. A rank growth of twenty heinous sins, with no redeeming virtues, shows that the fruits of the Spirit will be choked and rooted out by the works of the flesh. We can look nowhere else for this picture of Paul's

to be fulfilled, except to the Protestant church; for the class of which he speaks maintains a "form of godliness," or the outward services of a true Christian worship. And is not the church of our day beginning to manifest to an alarming degree the very characteristics which the apostle has specified? Fifteen clergymen of the city of Rochester, N. Y., on Sunday, Feb. 5, 1871,[1] distributed a circular entitled "A Testimony," to fifteen congregations of that city. To this circular the Rochester *Democrat* of February 7 made reference as follows:—

"The 'Testimony' sets out by stating that the foregoing pastors are constrained to bear witness to what they 'conceive to be a fact of our time'; viz., that the prevailing standard of piety among the professed people of God is alarmingly low; that a tide of worldliness is setting in upon us, indicating the rapid approach of an era such as is foretold by Paul in his second letter to Timothy, in the words, 'In the last days perilous times shall come.' 2 Tim. 3:1-5. These conclusions are reached, not by comparison with former times, but by applying the tests found in the Scriptures. They instance, as proof, 'the spirit of lawlessness which prevails.' The circular then explains how this lawlessness (religious) is shown. Men have the name of religion, but they obey none of its injunctions. There is also a growing disposition to practise, in religious circles, what is agreeable to the natural inclinations, rather than the duties prescribed by the Word of God. The tendency to adopt worldly amusements, by professed Christians, is further stated in evidence."

This testimony is very explicit. When men "have the name of religion, but obey none of its injunctions," they certainly may be said to have "a form of godliness," but to "deny the power;" and when they "practise in religious circles what is agreeable to the natural inclinations rather than

[1] This was over forty years ago; but let none harbor the feeling that the lapse of time has changed the condition of things and enfeebled the application. The question to be kept continually in mind is, Has the spiritual condition of the churches changed in the least degree for the better, down to the present time? If not, this testimony is now just as pertinent as it was then.

the duties prescribed by the Word of God," they may truthfully be said to be "lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God." And Rochester is not an exception in this respect. It is so all over the land, as the candid everywhere, by a sad array of facts, are compelled to admit.

The *Western Christian Advocate* (Methodist, Cincinnati) in its issue of May 19, 1893, said:—

"The enforcement of the unmistakable letter of the Discipline for a single year would cut our membership in half, bankrupt our missionary society, close our fashionable churches, paralyze our connectional interests, and leave our pastors and bishops unpaid and in distress."

Note also the following testimony from Rev. Dr. Andrew Gillies, pastor of the Hennepin Avenue Methodist church, uttered in a sermon to his own congregation, Dec. 14, 1913:—

"This scientific age has shaken religion to its very foundation. It has also shaped the faith into new and untried forms. Modern science has altered our idea of God and the universe. . . . Higher criticism has given us a new and different Bible. . . . Two pathetic results have followed this vast movement. The first is that for twenty years the religious knowledge of Christian people has been growing beautifully less and the terms of their faith increasingly vague. More Bibles are being sold and fewer Bibles being read. Instead of its being a new book to many, it is no book at all. We boast of this as the age when every man thinks for himself. It is an age when few think at all and when the majority of people called Christians feed their minds on all kinds of literature except on that mighty book which is the core of literature and of life. . . . The marvels of science and invention have exalted the material. The great progress of science and philosophy has exalted pure reason. The strenuous pressure of an industrial age has driven the storm to the doors of the soul. Every element in the storm of being has beaten upon the foundations of faith. And all this time many of those who should lead have been negligent or inefficient. As Fred Smith says, preachers have tried to stop this tide with quotations from Browning. Essays on social science have been given the name of sermons. Highly spiced subjects have been flung out as bait, and vaudeville methods outdone.

Men who had no chart or compass have tried to steer storm-beset souls into port. Bread has been asked with white lips, and stones have been given instead. 'Be good and be generous' has been substituted for the call to repent. Those called to be fishers of men have been mere exhibitors of fishing tackle, and if the truth be known, it has often been poor tackle at that."

That the majority of the Christians in our land are still to be found in connection with these churches, is undoubtedly true. But a change in this respect is also approaching; for Paul, in his words to Timothy, above referred to, exhorts all true Christians to "turn away" from those who have a form of godliness, but deny the power thereof; and those who desire to live pure and holy lives, who mourn over the desolations of their Zion, and sigh for the abominations done in the land, will certainly heed this injunction of the apostle. There is another prophecy which also shows that when the spirit of worldliness and apostasy has so far taken possession of the professed churches of Christ as to place them beyond the reach of reform, God's true children are every one to be called out, that they be not partakers of their sins, and receive not of their plagues. Rev. 18: 4.

From the course which church-members are everywhere pursuing, it is plain to be seen in what direction the Protestant churches are drifting; and from the declarations of God's Word it is evident that all whose hearts are touched by God's grace, and molded by his love, will soon come out from a connection in which, while they can do no good to others, they will receive only evil to themselves.

And now we ask the reader to consider seriously for a moment what the state of the religious world will be when this change shall have taken place. We shall then have an array of proud and popular churches, from whose communion all the good have departed, from whom the Holy Spirit is

withdrawn, and who are in a state of hopeless departure from God. God is no respecter of persons nor of churches; and if the Protestant churches apostatize from him, will they not be just as efficient agents in the hand of the enemy as ever pagans or papists have been? Will they not then be ready for any desperate measure of bigotry and oppression in which he may wish to enlist them? After the Jewish Church had finally rejected Christ, how soon they were ready to imbrue their hands in the blood of his crucifixion! And is it not the testimony of all history that just in proportion as any popular and extensive ecclesiastical organization loses the Spirit and power of God, it clamors for the support of the civil arm?

Let, now, an ecclesiastical organization be formed by these churches; let the government legalize such organization, and give it power (a power which it will not have till the government does grant it) to enforce upon the people the dogmas which the different denominations can all adopt as the basis of union, and what do we have?— Just what the prophecy represents,— an image to the papal beast, endowed with life by the two-horned beast, to speak and act with power.

And are there any visible indications of such a movement? Chapters XIV and XVI of this book present the answer to this question.

CHAPTER XIII

THE principal acts ascribed to the two-horned beast, which seem to be performed with special reference to the papal beast, are causing men to "worship" that beast, causing them to "make an image" to that beast, and enforcing upon them "the mark" of that beast. The image, after it is created and endowed with life, undertakes to enforce the worship of itself. To avoid confusion, we must keep these parties distinct in our minds. There are three here brought before us:—

1. The Papal Beast. This power is designated in Revelation 13 as "the beast," "the first beast," "the beast which had the wound by a sword and did live," and the "beast whose deadly wound was healed." These expressions all refer to the same power; and wherever they occur in this prophecy, they must be understood as having exclusive reference to the papacy.

2. The Two-Horned Beast. This power, after its introduction in verse 11 of Revelation 13, is represented through the remainder of the prophecy by the pronoun "he;" and wherever this pronoun occurs, down to the 17th verse (with possibly the exception of the 16th verse, which may refer to the image), it refers invariably to the two-horned beast.

3. The Image of the Beast. This is, every time, with the possible exception just stated, called the image; so that there is no danger of confounding this with any other agent. And let it be borne in mind that the two-horned beast, the government of the United States, is not the image of the beast, with which, without due consideration, it is sometimes confounded. The two-horned beast causes an image to be made to the beast,—"saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast." That which is made is not the two-horned beast, but the image.

The acts ascribed to the image are, "speaking," and *enforcing the worship of itself* under the penalty of death; and this is the only enactment which the prophecy mentions as being enforced under the death penalty. Just what will constitute this worship, it will perhaps be impossible to determine till the fully developed image itself shall have an existence. It will evidently be some act or acts by which men will be required to acknowledge the authority of that image, and yield obedience to its mandates.

The "mark of the beast" is enforced by the two-horned beast, either directly or through the image. The penalty attached to a refusal to receive this mark is a forfeiture of all social privileges, a deprivation of the right to buy and sell. Verse 17. The mark is the mark of the papal beast. Against this worship of the beast and his image, and the reception of his mark, the third angel's message of Rev. 14: 9-12, is a most solemn and thrilling warning.

Here, then, is the issue before us. Human organizations, controlled and inspired by the spirit of the dragon, are to command men to do those acts which are, in reality, the worshiping of an apostate religious power, and the receiving of his mark. If they decline to do this, they lose the rights of citizenship, and become outlaws in the land,— in other words,

they must do that which constitutes the worship of the image of the beast, or forfeit their lives. On the other hand, God says, by a message mercifully sent out a little before the fearful crisis is upon us, Do any of these things, and you "shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation." Rev. 14: 9-11. He who refuses to comply with these demands of earthly powers exposes himself to the severest penalties which human beings can inflict; and he who does comply, exposes himself to the most terrible threatening of divine wrath to be found in the Word of God. The question whether we will obey God or man is to be decided by the people of the present age, under the heaviest pressure, from either side, that has ever been brought to bear upon any generation.

The worship of the beast and his image, and the reception of his mark, must be something that involves the greatest offense that can be committed against God, to call down so severe a denunciation of wrath against it. This is a work, as was shown in Chapter VII, which takes place in the last days; and as God has given us in his Word most abundant evidence to show when we are in the last days, so that no one need be overtaken by the day of the Lord as by a thief, so, likewise, it must be that he has given us the means whereby we may determine what this great latter-day sin is which he has so strongly condemned, that we may not incur the fearful penalty so sure to follow its commission. God does not so trifle with human hopes and human destinies as to denounce a most fearful doom against a certain sin, and then place it beyond our power to understand what that sin is, so that we have no means of guarding against it.

That we are now living in the last days, the volumes of both revelation and nature bear ample and harmonious testimony. Evidence on this point we need not here stop to

introduce; for the testimony already presented in the foregoing chapters of this work, showing that the two-horned beast is now on the stage of action, is in itself conclusive proof of this great fact, inasmuch as this power exists and performs its work in the very closing period of human history. All these things tell us that the time has now come in which the proclamation of the third message of Revelation 14 is to be given, and it is high time for men to understand the terms it uses, and the warning it gives.

WHAT CONSTITUTES THE MARK OF THE BEAST?

The figure of a mark is borrowed from an ancient custom. Bishop Newton ("Dissertations on the Prophecies," London, one-volume edition, p. 546) says:—

> "It was customary among the ancients for servants to receive the mark of their master, and soldiers of their general, and those who were devoted to any particular deity, of the particular deity to whom they were devoted. These marks were usually impressed *on their right hand or on their foreheads,* and consisted of some hieroglyphic character, or of the name expressed in vulgar letters, or of the name disguised in numerical letters, according to the fancy of the imposer."

Prideaux says that Ptolemy Philopater ordered all the Jews who applied to be enrolled as citizens of Alexandria to have the form of an ivy leaf (the badge of his god, Bacchus) impressed upon them with a hot iron under pain of death ("Connection," Vol. II, p. 78).

The Greek word used for mark in this prophecy is *charagma,* and is defined to mean, "a graving, sculpture; a mark cut in or stamped." It occurs nine times in the New Testament, and with the single exception of Acts 17: 29, refers every time to the mark of the beast. We are not, of course, to understand in this symbolic prophecy that a literal mark is intended; but the giving of the literal mark,

as practised in ancient times, is used as a figure to illustrate certain acts that will be performed in the fulfilment of this prophecy. And from the literal mark as formerly employed, we learn something of its meaning as used in the prophecy; for between the symbol and the thing symbolized there must be some resemblance. The mark, as literally used, signified that the person receiving it was the servant of, acknowledged the authority of, or professed allegiance to, the person whose mark he bore. So the mark of the beast, or of the papacy, must be some act of profession by which the authority of that power is acknowledged. What is it?

It would naturally be looked for in some of the special characteristics of the papal power. Daniel, describing that power under the symbol of a little horn, speaks of it as waging a special warfare against God, wearing out the saints of the Most High, and thinking to change times and laws. The prophet expressly specifies on this point: "He shall *think* to change times and laws." These laws must certainly be the laws of the Most High. To apply it to human laws, and make the prophecy read, "And he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change human laws," would be doing evident violence to the language of the prophet. But apply it to the laws of God, and let it read, "He shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and shall think to change the times and laws *of the Most High,*" and all is consistent and forcible. The Hebrew has *dăith,* meaning law, and the Septuagint reads *nomos,* in the singular, "the law," which more directly suggests the law of God. The papacy has been able to do more than merely "think" to change human laws. It has changed them at pleasure. It has annulled the decrees of kings and emperors, and absolved

Photo by Paul Thompson, N. Y.

Upper Fire Hole, near "Old Faithful" Geyser, Yellowstone National Park

subjects from allegiance to their rightful sovereigns. It has thrust its long arm into the affairs of nations, and brought rulers to its feet in the most abject humility. But the prophet beholds greater acts of presumption than these. He sees it endeavor to do what it was not able to do, but could only "think" to do; he sees it attempt an act which no man, nor any combination of men, can ever accomplish; and that is, to change the law of the Most High. Bear this in mind while we look at the testimony of another sacred writer on this very point.

Paul speaks of the same power in 2 Thessalonians 2; and he describes it in the person of the pope, as "the man of sin," whom he represents as sitting as God in the temple of God (that is, the church), and as exalting himself "above all that is called God, or that is worshiped." According to this, the pope sets himself up as the one for all the church to look to for authority, instead of to God. And now we ask the reader to ponder carefully the question how it is possible for the pope

to exalt himself *above* God. Search through the whole ran of human devices, go to the extent of human effort; by wh plan, by what move, by what claim, could this usurper ex himself *above* God? He might institute any number of cer monies, he might prescribe any form of worship, he mig exhibit any degree of power; but so long as God had requi ments which the people felt bound to regard in preferen to his own, so long he would not be above God. He mig enact a law, and teach the people that they were under great obligations to that as to the law of God; then he wou only make himself *equal* with God. But he is to do mo than this; he is to attempt to raise himself *above* him. Th he must promulgate a law which *conflicts* with the law God, and demand obedience to his own law in preference that of God. There is no other possible way in which could place himself in the position assigned in the prophec But to do this is simply to endeavor to change the law God; and if he can cause this change to be adopted by t people in place of the original enactment, then he, the la changer, is above God, the lawmaker. And this is the ve work that Daniel said the little horn should think to do.

Such a work as this, then, the papacy must attempt, a cording to the prophecy; and the prophecy can not fail.

TWO LAWS

And when this is done, what do the people of the wor have?— They have two laws demanding obedience,— or the law of God as originally enacted by him, an embodime of his will, and expressing his claims upon his creature the other, a revised edition of that law, emanating from t pope of Rome, and expressing his will. And how is to be determined which of these powers the people hon and worship?— It will be determined by the law which th

keep. If they keep the law of God as given by him, they worship and obey God; if they keep the law as changed by the papacy, they worship that power. But further: the prophecy does not say that the little horn should set aside the law of God, and give one entirely different. This would not be to change the law, but simply to give a new one. He was only to attempt a *change,* so that the law that comes from God and the law that comes from the papacy are precisely alike, excepting the change which the papacy had made in the former. They have many points in common. But none of the precepts which they contain in common can distinguish a person as the worshiper of either power in preference to the other. If God's law says, "Thou shalt not kill," and the law as given by the papacy says the same, no one can tell by a person's observance of that precept whether he designs to obey God rather than the pope, or the pope rather than God. But when a precept that has been changed is the subject of action,— as, for instance, if God says that the seventh day is the Sabbath on which we must rest, but the pope says that the first day is the Sabbath, and that we should keep this day and not the seventh,— then whoever observes that precept as originally given by God, is thereby distinguished as a worshiper of God; and he who keeps it as changed is thereby *marked* as a follower of the power that made the change. In no other way can the two classes of worshipers be distinguished. From this conclusion, no candid mind can dissent; but in this conclusion we have a general answer to the question, "What constitutes the mark of the beast?" namely, THE MARK OF THE BEAST IS THE CHANGE WHICH THE BEAST HAS MADE IN THE LAW OF GOD.

We now inquire if the Catholic power has attempted any change in the law of God, and if so, what that change is. By the law of God we mean the moral law, the only law in

the universe of immutable and perpetual obligation, the law of which Webster says, defining the terms according to the sense in which they are almost universally used in Christendom, "The moral law is summarily contained in the Decalogue, written by the finger of God on two tables of stone, and delivered to Moses on Mount Sinai."

If, now, the reader will compare the Ten Commandments as found in Roman Catholic catechisms with those commandments as found in the Bible, he will see that in the catechisms the second commandment is left out, the tenth is divided into two to make up the lack caused by leaving out the second, thus keeping good the number ten, and the fourth commandment (called the third in their enumeration) is made to enjoin the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath, and prescribe that the day shall be spent in "hearing mass devoutly, attending vespers, and reading moral and pious books." Here are several variations from the Decalogue as found in the Bible. Here are some marked changes. Who has made them? Are they authorized in the Scriptures? or has the papacy made them of its own will? Do any of these constitute the change contemplated in the prophecy? and if so, which? or are they all included in that change? Let it be borne in mind, that, according to the prophecy, he was to "*think* to change times and laws," or "the law," as the Revised Version reads. This plainly conveys the idea of *intention* and *design*, and makes these qualities essential to the change in question. But respecting the omission of the second commandment, Catholics argue that it is included in the first commandment, and hence should not be numbered as a separate commandment. And on the tenth they claim that there is so plain a distinction of ideas as to require two commandments. So they make the coveting of a neighbor's wife the ninth command, and the coveting of his goods the tenth.

THE LAW OF GOD

As Given by Jehovah

"I will not alter the thing that is gone out of my lips."

I.

Thou shalt have no other gods before me.

II.

Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them; for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and showing mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments.

III.

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain; for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.

IV.

Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. Six days shalt thou labor, and do all thy work: but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou shalt not do any work, thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man-servant, nor thy maid-servant, nor thy cattle, nor thy stranger that is within thy gates: for in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day; wherefore the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it.

V.

Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

VI.

Thou shalt not kill.

VII.

Thou shalt not commit adultery

VIII.

Thou shalt not steal.

IX.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.

X.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house, thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor any thing that is thy neighbor's.

[*See Exodus 20:3-17.*]

As Changed by Man

"He shall think himself able to change times and laws." -- Daniel 7:25. Douay Bible.

I.

I am the Lord thy God: thou shalt not have strange gods before me.

II.

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.

III.

Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath day.

IV.

Honor thy father and thy mother.

V.

Thou shalt not kill.

VI.

Thou shalt not commit adultery.

VII.

Thou shalt not steal.

VIII.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.

IX.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife.

X.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods.

[*See Butler's Catechism, p 24, edition of 1877, published by Hoffman Bros., Milwaukee, Wis.*

In all this they claim that they are giving the commandments exactly as God intended to have them understood. So, while we may regard them as errors in their interpretation of the commandments, we can not set them down as *intentional changes.* Not so, however, with the fourth commandment. Respecting this commandment they do not claim that their version is like that given by God. They expressly claim a change here, and also that the change has been made by the church. A few quotations from standard Catholic works will make this matter plain. In a work entitled "Treatise of Thirty Controversies," we find these words:—

"The word of God commandeth the seventh day to be the Sabbath of our Lord, and to be kept holy; you [Protestants], without any precept of Scripture, change it to the first day of the week, only authorized by our traditions. Divers English Puritans oppose, against this point, that the observation of the first day is proved out of Scripture, where it is said, the first day of the week. Acts 20:7; 1 Cor. 16:2; Rev. 1:10. Have they not spun a fair thread in quoting these places? If we should produce no better for purgatory and prayers for the dead, invocation of the saints, and the like, they might have good cause, indeed, to laugh us to scorn; for where is it written that these were Sabbath days in which those meetings were kept? Or where is it ordained they should be always observed? Or, which is the sum of all, where is it decreed that the observation of the first day should abrogate, or abolish, the sanctifying of the seventh day, which God commanded everlastingly to be kept holy? Not one of these is expressed in the written word of God."

In the "Catechism of the Christian Religion," on the subject of the third (fourth) commandment, we find these questions and answers:—

"*Ques.*— What does God ordain by this commandment?

"*Ans.*— He ordains that we sanctify, in a special manner, this day on which he rested from the labor of creation.

"*Q.*— What is this day of rest?

"*A.*— The seventh day of the week, or Saturday; for he employed six days in creation, and rested on the seventh. Gen. 2:2; Heb. 4:4; etc.

"*Q.*— Is it, then, Saturday we should sanctify in order to obey the ordinance of God?

"*A.*— During the old law, Saturday was the day sanctified; but *the church,* instructed by Jesus Christ, and directed by the Spirit of God, has substituted Sunday for Saturday; so now we sanctify the first, not the seventh day. Sunday means, and now is, the day of the Lord."—*"Catechism of the Christian Religion," by Rev. Stephen Keenan (Boston: Patrick Donahoe, 1857), p. 206.*

In the "Catholic Christian Instructed," we read:—

"*Ques.*— What are the days which the church commands to be kept holy?

"*Ans.*— First, The Sunday, or the Lord's day, which we observe by apostolic tradition, instead of the Sabbath. Secondly, The feast of our Lord's Nativity, or Christmas-day; his Circumcision, or New-Year's day; the Epiphany, or Twelfth-day; Easter-day, or the day of the Lord's Resurrection; the day of our Lord's Ascension; Whitsunday, or the day of the coming of the Holy Ghost; Trinity Sunday; Corpus Christi, or the feast of the Blessed Sacrament. Thirdly, We keep the day of the Annunciation, and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Fourthly, We observe the feast of All-Saints.

"*Q.*— What warrant have you for keeping the Sunday preferably to the ancient Sabbath, which was the Saturday?

"*A.*— We have for it the authority of the Catholic Church, and apostolic tradition.

"*Q.*— Does the Scripture anywhere command the Sunday to be kept for the Sabbath?

"*A.*— The Scripture commands us to hear the church (Matt. 18:17; Luke 10:16), and to hold fast the traditions of the apostles. 2 Thess. 2:15. But the Scriptures do not in particular mention this change of the Sabbath. St. John speaks of the Lord's day (Rev. 1:10); but he does not tell us what day of the week this was, much less does he tell us that this day was to take the place of the Sabbath ordained in the commandments. St. Luke also speaks of the disciples meeting together to break bread on the first day of the week. Acts 20:7. And St. Paul (1 Cor. 16:2) orders that on the first day of the week the Cor-

inthians should lay by in store what they designed to bestow in charity on the faithful in Judea; but neither the one nor the other tells us that this first day of the week was to be henceforward the day of worship, and the Christian Sabbath; so that truly, the best authority we have for this is the testimony and ordinance of the church. And, therefore, those who pretend to be so religious of the Sunday, while they take no notice of other festivals ordained by the same church authority, show that they act by humor, and not by reason and religion; since Sundays and holy days all stand upon the same foundation, viz., the ordinance of the church."—*"Catholic Christian Instructed," published by P. J. Kenedy, 5 Barclay St., New York, edition of 1874, pp. 202, 203.*

In the "Doctrinal Catechism" we find further testimony to the same point:—

"Ques.— Have you any other way of proving that the church has power to institute festivals of precept?

"Ans.— Had she *not* such power, *she could not have done* that in which all modern religionists agree with her — she could not have substituted the observance of *Sunday,* the first day of the week, for the observance of *Saturday, the seventh day,* a change for which *there is no scriptural authority."* [Italics ours.]—*"Doctrinal Catechism," published by P. J. Kenedy, New York, p. 174.*

From the article on "Obedience to the Church," Chapter VI, in the same work, p. 181, we take the following:—

"Ques.— In what manner can we show a Protestant that he speaks unreasonably against fasts and abstinences?

"Ans.— Ask him why he keeps Sunday, and not Saturday, as his day of rest, since he is unwilling either to fast or to abstain. If he reply that the Scripture orders him to keep the Sunday, but says nothing as to fasting and abstinence, tell him the Scripture speaks of Saturday, or the Sabbath, but gives *no command anywhere* regarding Sunday, or the first day of the week. If, then, he neglects Saturday as a day of rest and holiness, and substitutes Sunday in its place, and this merely because such was the usage of the ancient church, should he not, if he wishes to act consistently, observe fasting and abstinence, because the ancient church so ordained?"

The "Doctrinal Catechism" also attacks the practise of Protestants in not adhering to their platform that the Bible alone is the rule of faith and practise. Among the things not contained in the Scriptures, which nevertheless Protestants generally believe, it mentions the following:—

"It [the Scripture] does not tell us whether infants should be baptized; whether the obligation of keeping Saturday holy has been done away with; whether Sunday should be kept in its place, etc."—*Id., pp. 87, 88.*

In "Abridgment of Christian Doctrine," we find this testimony:—

"*Ques.*— How prove you that the church hath power to command feasts and holy days?

"*Ans.*— By the very act of changing the Sabbath into Sunday, which Protestants allow of; and therefore they fondly contradict themselves by keeping Sunday strictly, and breaking most other feasts commanded by the same church.

"*Q.*— How prove you that?

"*A.*— Because by keeping Sunday they acknowledge the

Transporting a 13-inch Gun

church's power to ordain feasts, and to command them under sin."— *Page 58.*

And finally W. L. Lockhart, late B. A., of Oxford, in the Toronto (Catholic) *Mirror,* offered the following "challenge" to all the Protestants of Ireland,— a challenge as well calculated for this longitude as that. He says:—

"I do therefore solemnly challenge the Protestants of Ireland to prove by plain texts of Scripture, these questions concerning the obligations of the Christian Sabbath: (1) That Christians may work on Saturday, the old seventh day; (2) That they are bound to keep holy the first day, namely, Sunday; (3) That they are not bound to keep holy the seventh day also."

This is what the papal power claims to have done respecting the fourth (in their enumeration, the third) commandment. Catholics plainly acknowledge that there is *no scriptural authority* for the change they have made in this commandment, but that it rests wholly upon the authority of the church; and they claim this change as a "token," or "mark," of the authority of that church, appealing in the most explicit language to the very act of *"changing the Sabbath into Sunday"* as proof of its power in this respect.[1]

"But," says one, "I supposed that Christ changed the Sabbath." A great many suppose so; and it is natural that they should; for they have been so taught. And while we have no words of denunciation to utter against any such persons for so believing, we would have them at once understand that it is, in reality, one of the most enormous of all errors. We would therefore remind such persons that, according to the prophecy, the only change ever to be made in the law of God, was to be made by the little horn of Daniel

[1]For further testimony on this point, the reader is referred to tracts published at the Review and Herald office, Takoma Park, Washington, D. C., in which are extracts from Catholic writers refuting the arguments usually relied upon to prove the Sunday sabbath, and showing that its only authority is the Catholic Church.

7, the "man of sin" of 2 Thessalonians 2; and the most striking change that has been made in it is the change of the Sabbath. Now, if Christ made this change, he filled the office of the blasphemous power spoken of by both Daniel and Paul,—a conclusion sufficiently hideous to drive any Christian from the view which leads thereto.

Why should any one labor to prove that Christ changed the Sabbath? Whoever does this is performing a thankless task. The pope will not thank him; for if it is proved that Christ wrought this change, then the pope is robbed of his badge of authority and power. And no truly enlightened Protestant will thank him; for if he succeeds, he only shows that the papacy has not done the work which it was predicted that it would do, and therefore that the prophecy has failed, and the Scriptures are unreliable. The matter would better stand as the prophecy has placed it, and the claim which the pope unwittingly puts forth would better be granted. When a person is charged with any work, and abundant evidence is at hand to show that he did it, and the jury brings in a verdict of "Guilty," and finally the person himself steps forth and confesses that he has done the work, that is usually considered sufficient to settle the matter. So, when the prophecy affirms that a certain power shall change the law of God, and in due time that very power arises, and does the work foretold, and indisputable evidence is presented to show that it has done the work, and finally that power openly claims that it *has done* it and boasts of it, what need have we of further evidence?

The world should not forget that the great apostasy foretold by Paul has taken place; that the "man of sin" for long ages held almost a monopoly of what he styled Christian teaching in the world; that the mystery of iniquity has cast the darkness of its shadow and the errors of its doctrines

over almost all Christendom; and that out of this era of error and darkness and corruption, the theology of our day has come. Would it, then, be anything strange to find that there are yet some relics of popery to be discarded ere the Reformation will be complete? A. Campbell ("Baptism," p. 15), speaking of the Protestant sects, says:—

"All of them retain in their bosom — in their ecclesiastical organizations, worship, doctrines, and observances — various relics of popery. They are at best a reformation of popery, and only reformations in part. The doctrines and traditions of men yet impair the power and progress of the gospel in their hands."

The nature of the change which the little horn has attempted to effect in the law of God is worthy of notice. With true satanic instinct, he undertakes to change that commandment which, of all others, is the fundamental commandment of the law, the one which makes known who the lawgiver is, and contains his signature of royalty. The fourth commandment does this; no other commandment of the Decalogue does. Four others, it is true, contain the word "God," and three of them the word "Lord," also. But who is this "Lord God" of whom they speak? Without the fourth commandment, it is impossible to tell; for idolaters of every grade might apply these terms to the multitudinous objects of their adoration. But when we have the fourth commandment to point out the Author of the Decalogue, the claims of every false god are annulled at one stroke; for it is at once seen that the God who here demands our worship is not *any created* being, but the one who created all things. The maker of the earth and sea, the sun and moon, and all the starry host, the upholder and governor of the universe, is the one who claims, and who, from his position, has a right to claim, our supreme regard in preference to every other object. The

commandment which makes known these facts is, therefore, the very one we might suppose that power which designed to exalt itself above God (2 Thess. 2:3, 4) would undertake to change. God gave the Sabbath as a memorial of himself, a weekly reminder to the sons of men of his work in creating the heavens and the earth, a great barrier against atheism and idolatry. It is the signature and seal of the law. This the papacy has torn from its place, and erected in its stead, on its own authority, another institution, designed to serve another purpose.

This change of the fourth commandment must therefore be the change to which the prophecy points, and Sunday-keeping must be the "mark of the beast"! Some who have long been taught to regard this institution with reverence will perhaps start back with little less than feelings of horror at this

Gathering a Georgia Peach Crop

conclusion. We have not space, nor is this perhaps the place, to enter into an extended argument on the Sabbath question, and an exposition of the origin and nature of the observance of the first day of the week. Let us submit this one proposition: If the seventh day is still the Sabbath enjoined in the fourth commandment; if the observance of the first day of the week has no foundation whatever in the Scriptures; if this observance has been brought in as a Christian institution, and designedly put in the place of the Sabbath of the Decalogue by that power which is symbolized by "the beast," and placed there as a badge and token of its power to legislate for the church,— suppose for a moment that all this is actually so,— is it not inevitably the mark of the beast? The answer must be in the affirmative. But all these hypotheses can easily be shown to be certainties.[1]

It will be said again, Then all Sunday-keepers have the mark of the beast; then all the good of past ages who kept this day, had the mark of the beast; then Luther, Whitefield, the Wesleys, and all who have done a good and noble work of reformation, had the mark of the beast; then all the blessings that have been poured upon the reformed churches have been poured upon those who had the mark of the beast. We answer, *No!* And we are sorry to see that some professedly religious teachers, though many times corrected, persist in misrepresenting us on this point. We have never so held; we have never so taught. Our premises lead to no such conclusions. Give ear: The mark and worship of the beast are enforced by the two-horned beast. The receiving of the mark of the beast is a specific act which the two-horned beast is to cause to be done. The third message of Revelation 14 is a warning mercifully sent out in advance to prepare the people for

[1] See "History of the Sabbath," and other works issued by the publishers of this book. To these we can only refer the reader, in passing.

the coming danger. There can, therefore, be *no worship of* the beast, nor reception of his *mark,* such as is contemplated in the prophecy, *till it is enforced by the two-horned beast.* We have seen that *intention* was essential to the change which the papacy has made in the law of God, to constitute it the mark of that power. So *intention* is necessary in the adoption of that change to make it, on the part of any individual, the reception of that mark. In other words, a person must adopt the change knowing it to be the mark of the beast, and receive it on the authority of that power, in opposition to the requirement of God.

But how was it with those referred to above, who have kept Sunday in the past, and the majority of those who are keeping it to-day? Do they keep it as an institution of the papacy?— No. Have they decided between this and the Sabbath of our Lord, understanding the claims of each?— No. On what ground have they kept it, and do they still keep it? — They suppose they are keeping a commandment of God. Have such the mark of the beast?— By no means. Their course is attributable to an error unwittingly received from the Church of Rome, not to an act of worship rendered to it.

But how is it to be in the future?— The church which is to be prepared for the second coming of Christ must be entirely free from papal errors and corruptions. A reform must therefore be made on the Sabbath question. The third angel (Rev. 14: 9-12) proclaims the commandments of God, leading men to the true in place of the counterfeit. The dragon is stirred, and so controls the wicked governments of the earth that all the authority of human power shall be exerted to enforce the claims of the man of sin. Then the issue is fairly before the people. On the one hand, they are required to keep the true Sabbath; on the other, a counterfeit. For refusing to keep the true, the message denounces

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A Vista in the Grand Canyon of the Colorado

the unmingled wrath of God; for clinging to the true and rejecting the false, earthly governments threaten them with persecution and death. With this issue before the people, what does he do who yields to the human requirement?— He virtually says to God, I know your claims, but I will not heed them. I know that the power I am required to worship is anti-Christian, but I yield to it to save my life. I renounce your allegiance, and bow to the usurper. The beast is henceforth the object of my adoration; under his banner, in opposition to your authority, I henceforth array myself; to him, in defiance of your claims, I henceforth yield the obedience of my heart and life. In comparison with the fear of his punishments, I despise and brave your wrath.

Such is the spirit which will actuate the hearts of the beast-worshipers,— a spirit which insults the God of the universe to his face, and is prevented only by lack of power from overthrowing his government and annihilating his throne. Is it any wonder that Jehovah denounces against

so Heaven-daring a course the threatening brought to view in the scripture last referred to — the most terrible threatening expressed in his Word against any class of living men before probation closes? Rev. 14: 9-12.

Glacier Point, Yosemite Valley

CHAPTER XIV

WE have now found what, according to the prophecy, will constitute the image which the two-horned beast is to cause to be made, and the mark which it will attempt to enforce. The movement which is to fulfil this portion of the prophecy is to be looked for among those classes which constitute the professedly religious portion of the people. First, some degree of union must be effected between the various Protestant churches, with some degree of coalition, also, between these bodies and the papal power, or Roman Catholicism; and secondly, steps must be taken to bring the law of the land to the support of the Sunday sabbath. These movements the prophecy calls for; and the line of argument leading to these conclusions is so direct and well defined that there is no avoiding them. They are a clear and logical sequence from the premises given us. When this is accomplished, it will not rest on theory, but be a plain, tangible movement which all can understand.

We shall speak in this chapter of the growth of religious intolerance in this country, of the sophistry by which it is supported, and some of the leading agencies by which it is fostered.

When the application of Rev. 13: 11-17 to the United

States was first made, more than sixty years ago, these positions respecting a union of the churches and a grand Sunday movement were taken. But at that time no sign appeared above or beneath, at home or abroad, no token was seen, no indication existed, that such an issue would ever be made. But there was the prophecy, and that must stand. The United States government had given abundant evidence, by its location, the time of its rise, the manner of its rise, and its apparent character, that it was the power symbolized by the two-horned beast. There could be no mistake in the conclusion that it was the very nation intended by that symbol. This being so, it must take the course and perform the acts foretold. But here were predictions which could be fulfilled by nothing else than the above-named religious movements, resulting in a virtual union of church and state, and the enforcement of the papal sabbath as the mark of the beast.

To take the position at that time that this government was to pursue such a policy and engage in such a work, without any apparent probability in its favor, was no small act of faith. On the other hand, to deny or ignore it, while admitting the application of the symbol to this government, would not be in accordance with either Scripture or logic. The only course for the humble, confiding student of prophecy to pursue in such cases, is to take the light as it is given, and believe the prophecy in all its parts. So the stand was boldly taken; and open proclamation has been made from that day to this, that such a work would be seen in the United States. With every review of the argument, new features of strength have been discovered in the application; and amid a storm of scornful incredulity, we have watched the progress of events, and awaited the hour of fulfilment.

Meanwhile, Spiritualism has astonished the world with its terrible progress, and has shown itself to be the wonder-

working element which was to exist in connection with this power. This has mightily strengthened the evidence of the application. And now, within a few years past, what have we further seen?— No less than the commencement of that very movement respecting the formation of the image and the enactment of Sunday laws, which we have expected, and which is to complete the prophecy, and close the scene.

We have seen the federation idea take possession of the leading religious bodies, both Protestant and Catholic, resulting in the formation of two great church combines, organized to wield political rather than spiritual power. Extended reference to this portentious movement is made in Chapters X and XVI.

And there has arisen also a class of men whose souls are absorbed with the cognate idea of Sunday reform, and who have dedicated every energy of their being to the carrying forward of this kindred movement. The New York Sabbath Committee, which was first in the field to promote this cause, has been followed by the National Reform Association, the American Sabbath Union, New England Sabbath Protective League, the Lord's Day Alliance, Sunday League of America, and other organizations, which have labored zealously, by means of books, tracts, speeches, and sermons, to create a strong public sentiment in behalf of Sunday. Making slow progress through moral suasion, they seek a shorter path to the accomplishment of their purposes through political power. And from their point of view, why should they not? Christianity has become popular, and her professed adherents are numerous. Why not avail themselves of the power of the ballot to secure their ends? That is the way they reason. As Christians, they can not consistently do so; for Christ repeatedly avows that his kingdom is not of this world. Rev. J. S. Smart (Methodist), in a published

Rev. Henry Collin Minton, President of the National Reform Association

sermon on the "Political Duties of Christian Men and Ministers," expresses a largely prevailing sentiment on this question, when he says:—

"I claim that we have, and ought to have, just as much concern in the government of this country as any other men. . . . We are the mass of the people. Virtue in this country is not weak; her ranks are strong in numbers, and invincible from the righteousness of her cause — invincible if united. Let not her ranks be broken by party names."

We quote these sentiments simply to show the direction public sentiment is taking. It means a great deal.

One of these organizations, the National Reform Association, which has been in existence since 1863, has for its object the securing of such amendments to the national Constitution as shall express the religious views of the majority of church people, and make it an instrument under which the keeping of Sunday can be enforced as the Christian Sabbath. This association already embraces within its ranks a long array of eminent and honorable names,— governors of States, college presidents, bishops, doctors of divinity, doctors of law, and men who occupy high positions in all the walks of life.

In an address issued by the officers of this association, they say:—

"Men of *high standing* in *every walk of life*, of every section of the country, and of every shade of political sentiment and religious belief, have concurred in the measure."

In their appeals, they most earnestly request every lover of his country to join in forming auxiliary associations, to circulate documents, attend conventions, sign memorials to Congress, etc.

In their plea for an amended Constitution, they ask the people to —

"Consider that God is not once named in our national Constitution. There is nothing in it which requires an 'oath of God,' as the Bible styles it (which, after all, is the great bond both of loyalty in the citizen and of fidelity in the magistrate), — nothing which requires the observance of the day of rest and worship, or which respects its sanctity. If we do not have the mails carried and the post-offices open on Sunday, it is because we have a Postmaster-General who respects the day. If our Supreme Courts are not held, and if Congress does not sit that day, it is *custom*, and not *law*, that makes it so. Nothing in the Constitution gives Sunday quiet to the custom-house, the navy-yard, the barracks, or any of the departments of government.

"Consider that they fairly express the mind of the great body of the American people. This is a Christian people. These amendments agree with the faith, the feelings, and the forms of every Christian church or sect. The Catholic and the Protestant, the Unitarian and the Trinitarian, profess and approve all that is here proposed. Why should their wishes not become law? Why should not the Constitution be made to suit and to represent a constituency so overwhelmingly in the majority? . . .

"This great majority are becoming daily more conscious not only of their rights, but of their power. Their number grows, and their column becomes more solid. They have quietly, steadily opposed infidelity, until it has at least become politically unpopular. They have asserted the rights of man and the rights of the government, until the nation's faith has become measurably fixed and declared on these points. And now that circumstances give us occasion to amend our Constitution, that

Rev. J. S. Martin, General Superintendent of the National Reform Association

it may clearly and fully represent the mind of the people on these points, they feel that it should also be so amended as to recognize the rights of God in man and in government. Is it anything but due to their long patience that they be at length allowed to speak out the great facts and principles which give to all government its dignity, stability, and beneficence?"

In the interest of this association there is published, in Pittsburg, a monthly paper called *The Christian Statesman,* in advocacy of this movement. Besides this, a great mass of other literature is put forth by the association in the form of leaflets, tracts, and pamphlets. These are the very methods by which, in a country like ours, great revolutions are accomplished; and no movement has ever arisen, in so short a space of time as this, to so high a position in public esteem with certain classes, and taken so strong a hold upon their hearts.

Mr. G. A. Townsend ("New World and Old," p. 212) says:—

"Church and state has several times crept into American politics, as in the contentions over the Bible in the public schools, the anti-Catholic party of 1854, etc. Our people have been wise enough heretofore to respect the clergy in all religious questions, and to entertain a wholesome jealousy of them in

politics. The latest *politico-theological movement* [italics ours] is to insert the name of the Deity in the Constitution."

The present position of this National Reform Association, and the progress it has made, may be gathered somewhat from the following sketch of its history, and the reports of the proceedings of some of the conventions which have thus far been held.

From the Pittsburg (Pa.) *Commercial* of Feb. 6, 1874, the following is taken:—

"The present movement to secure the religious amendment of the Constitution originated at Xenia, Ohio, in February, 1863, in a convention composed of eleven different religious denominations, who assembled for prayer and conference, not in regard to the amendment of the Constitution, but the state of religion. Meetings (small in numbers) were held shortly after in Pittsburg and elsewhere. At first the association was called a 'Religious Council'; now it is known as the 'National Association to Secure the Religious Amendment of the Constitution of the United States,' and is becoming more popular, and increasing largely in numbers.

"The first national convention of the association was held in the First United Presbyterian church, Allegheny, Pa., Jan. 27, 1864, at which a large delegation was appointed to present the matter to the consideration of Hon. Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States. An adjourned meeting was held in the Eighth Street Methodist Episcopal church, Philadelphia, on the 7th and 8th of July of the same year, and another in the same city, in the West Arch Street Presbyterian church, Nov. 29, 1864.

"Conventions were held in New York in 1868; in Columbus, Ohio, February, 1869; and in Monmouth, Ill., April, 1871.

"National conventions were held in Pittsburg, 1870; Philadelphia, 1871; Cincinnati, 1872; and New York, 1873. The national convention which meets this afternoon [Feb. 4, 1847] in Library Hall [in Pittsburg, Pa.] is, we believe, the fifth in order."

From the report of the executive committee at the Cincinnati convention, Jan. 31, 1872, it appeared that ten thou-

sand copies of the proceedings of the Philadelphia convention had been gratuitously distributed, and a general secretary had been appointed. Nearly $1,800 was raised at this convention.

The business committee recommended that the delegates to this convention hold meetings in their respective localities to ratify the resolutions adopted at Cincinnati, and that the friends of the association be urged to form auxiliary associations. These recommendations were adopted.

Among the resolutions passed were the following:—

"*Resolved,* That it is the right and duty of the United States, as a nation settled by Christians,— a nation with Christian laws and usages, and with Christianity as its greatest social force, — to acknowledge itself in its written Constitution to be a Christian nation."[1]

They seem to be conscious that well-grounded fears will be excited in the minds of the people, that this movement, if successful, would be a gross infringement of the principle on which this government is founded, which is to keep forever separate the church and the state; and so they endeavor to blind the people to this danger, and allay these fears in the following adroit manner:—

"*Resolved,* That the proposed religious amendment, so far from tending to a union of church and state, is directly opposed to such union, inasmuch as it recognizes the nation's own relations to God, and insists that the nation should acknowledge those relations for itself, and not through the medium of any church establishment."

Of the fifth annual convention at Pittsburg, Feb. 4, 1874, J. H. Waggoner, who went as a correspondent from the

[1] In the present state of affairs in this world, there can be no such thing as a "Christian" nation; and any people claiming to be such, claims to be such a community as Christ expressly repudiates when he says, "My kingdom is not of this world." There is no need here to present any argument to show the sophistry involved in such claims as these. In what has been presented and what will be given later, the groundless assumptions of a false theocracy will be fully exposed.

Seventh-day Adventists, said, in the *Review and Herald*:—

"This was a meeting of delegates, but was largely attended. The number of delegates holding certificates was 641; non-certified, 432; total, 1,073, representing eighteen States. Petitions to Congress, partially returned, as I understood, footed up over 54,000 names.

"It has been strongly impressed upon my mind that we have underestimated, rather than overestimated, the rapid growth and power of this movement. Those who think we have been deluded in confidently looking for a great change in the nature and policy of our government, could but be convinced that we are right in this if they would attend such a meeting as this, or by other means become acquainted with what is actually taking place in this respect. The reason assigned for calling a delegated convention is that no place could be found large enough to accommodate a mass-meeting of the friends of the cause. But it is proposed to hold mass-meetings in the several States, and have a general grand rally in 1876, the centennial anniversary of our independence.

"The animus of this meeting can not be understood or appreciated by any one who did not attend it. It was a large gathering of delegates and others, and for enthusiasm and unanimity, has rarely been equaled. This feature can be but feebly described in any published report; and I notice that some of the most significant and stirring expressions are left out of the most complete reports of the speeches yet given.

"The officers of the association for the coming year [1874] are, president, Hon. Felix R. Brunot, Pittsburg, with ninety-nine vice-presidents, among whom are four governors, five State superintendents of public instruction, nine bishops, fifteen judges of higher courts, and forty-one college presidents and professors, and the others are all eminent men; general secretary, Rev. D. McAllister, N. Y.; corresponding secretary, Rev. T. P. Stevenson, Philadelphia."

In his opening address, the president of the national association, and chairman of this fifth convention, said that their "cause had made the progress of twenty years in five;" and the general secretary, D. McAllister, said of the past year that it had "numbered a larger array of accessions to

J. S. McGaw, Field Secretary of the National Reform Association

our ranks than any two, or three, or perhaps five, preceding years."

Instead of a large national convention in 1875, four conventions, more local in their nature, were held in different parts of the country.

Of the meeting in St. Louis, the *Christian Statesman* of February, 1875, said:—

"The convention of citizens of Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, and neighboring States, in the city of St. Louis, on the 27th and 28th month, was a triumphant success. In a city where there at a small constituency committed in advance to the sup- f the proposed amendment, public attention has been ear- drawn to the movement; a large audience was called out the sessions of the convention, and full reports of the able sses delivered have been published in the city papers. Fully housand people were present at the opening session, and st three hundred at the day sessions on Thursday. Three ed and ninety-four names were enrolled as members of nvention. The address of J. C. Wells, Esq., a lawyer Chillicothe, Ill., was marked by the same fervor of argu- and fervent Christian spirit which lend so much power ttractiveness to his able little book entitled 'Our National ation.' Mr. Wells was also chosen president of the con- n. The friends in St. Louis and vicinity are to be con- ated on this result."

"The closing resolution adopted at the convention reads:—

"'*Resolved,* That, recognizing the importance of this subject, we pledge ourselves to present and advocate it until the nation shall declare its Christian character, as it has, with one consent, already asserted its freedom in the charter of our rights and liberties.'"

Nov. 9, 1875, a special meeting of the national association was held in Philadelphia, Pa., at which meeting the association took steps, which have since been carried out, to become incorporated in law, under the name of the "National Reform Association." The *Christian Statesman* of Nov. 20, 1875, contained the following notice of this meeting:—

"The evening session was well attended, and was altogether the most encouraging meeting in behalf of the cause held in this city for many years."

The subsequent action of the executive committee is reported as follows:—

"The executive committee has since taken steps to obtain a charter of incorporation for the society, and to secure an office which shall be a recognized headquarters for its operations and depository of its publications, especially during the centennial year."

An important meeting was held in Philadelphia at the time of the Centennial Exposition, and meetings have been held each year since, in all parts of the country.

Whatever influence great names can impart to any cause is certainly secured in favor of this. Mr. F. E. Abbott, then editor of the *Index,* published in Boston, Mass., who was present at the Cincinnati convention, and presented a protest against its aims and efforts, thus speaks of those who stand at the head of this movement:—

"We found them to be so thoroughly sincere and earnest in their purpose, that they did not fear the effect of a decided but temperate protest. This fact speaks volumes in their praise as

men of character and convictions. We saw no indications of the artful management which characterizes most conventions. The leading men impressed us as able, clear-headed, and thoroughly honest men; and we could not but conceive a great respect for their motives and their intentions. It is such qualities as these in the leaders of the movement that give it its most formidable character. They have definite and consistent ideas; they perceive the logical connection of these ideas, and advocate them in a very cogent and powerful manner; and they propose to push them with determination and zeal. Concede their premises, and it is impossible to deny their conclusions; and since these premises are axiomatic truths with the great majority of Protestant Christians, the effect of the vigorous campaign on which they are entering can not be small or despicable. The very respect with which we were compelled to regard them only increases our sense of the evils which lie germinant in their doctrines; and we came home with the conviction that religious liberty in America *must do battle for its very existence* [italics ours] hereafter. The movement in which these men are engaged has too many elements of strength to be contemned by any far-seeing Liberal. Blindness or sluggishness to-day means slavery to-morrow. Radicalism must pass now from thought to action, or it will deserve the oppression that lies in wait to overwhelm it."

To show the strong convictions of many minds that the conflict here indicated is inevitable, we present some further extracts from the *Index*. In its issue of Feb. 12, 1874, it says:—

"Yet in this one point the Christianizers show an unerring instinct. The great battle between the ideas of the state and the ideas of the church will indeed be fought out in the organic law of the nation. The long and bitter conflict of chattel-slavery with free industry began in the world of ideas, passed to the arena of politics, burst into the hell of war, and expired in the peaceful suffrages by which freedom was enthroned in the Constitution. The old story will be repeated; for it is the same old conflict in a new guise, though we hope, and would fain believe, that the dreaded possibility of another civil war is in fact an impossibility. But that the agitation now begun can find no end until either Christianity or Freedom shall have molded the Constitution wholly into its own likeness, is one of the fa-

talities to be read in the very nature of the conflicting principles. The battle of the amendments is at hand. A thousand minor issues hide it from sight; but none the less it approaches year by year, month by month, day by day. Cowardice to the rear! Courage to the front!"

The sentiment here expressed, that "the agitation now begun can find no end until either Christianity or Freedom [by which the *Index* means infidelity] shall have molded the Constitution wholly into its own likeness," is becoming the settled conviction of many minds. It is not difficult to foresee the result. Infidel, the Constitution can never become; hence it will become wholly the instrument of that type of Christianity which the amendmentists are now seeking.

Again the *Index* says:—

"The central ideas of the church and of the Republic are locked in deadly combat — none the less so, because the battle-ground of to-day is the invisible field of thought. To-morrow the struggle will be in the arena of politics, and then no eye will be so blind as not to see it."

At the Pittsburg convention in 1874, a sentiment was expressed as true now as it was then:—

"Dr. Kieffer said that this movement was more political than ecclesiastical, appealing to the patriotism of all classes alike, and should be accepted by all. Dr. Hodge said it was in no sense sectarian, and the ends it sought could be accepted by one denomination as well as by another,— by the Catholic as well as by the Protestant. He said it was destined to unite all classes. And their work was all in this direction."

The following, also from the *Index,* we copy from the *Christian Statesman* of Jan. 2, 1875. We do not indorse its statements as applied to real Christianity, but it probably expresses the view which will be taken of this matter by the churches generally, and so may be regarded as an indication of the course that will be pursued by them. While the po-

Rev. R. C. Wylie, a Leading National Reform Writer and Lecturer

litical religionist can see in present movements the prelude of a mighty revolution for good, Bible students believe it to be the same that they have for years been led by the Word of God to expect, as the preliminary steps to the nation's downfall and ruin, after the manner of Rome. The *Index* says:—

"Nothing could be more apparent to one who intelligently followed the argument from its own premises, than that this movement expresses at once the moral and the political necessities of Christianity in this country. It is not a question of words, but rather a question of the vital interests of great institutions. Christianity must either relinquish its present hold on the government,— its Sunday laws, its blasphemy laws, its thanksgivings and fasts, its chaplaincies, its Bible in schools, etc., — or else it must secure the necessary condition of retaining all these things by inserting some guarantee of their perpetuity in the national Constitution. Looking simply at the small present dimensions of the movement,— at the fewness of its devoted workers, the paucity of attendants at the late convention, and the indifference of the public at large,— one is justified in dismissing it from consideration as of no immediate importance. But whoever is qualified to detect great movements in their germs, and to perceive that *instituted* Christianity is in vast peril from the constant inroads of rapidly spreading disbelief of *dogmatic* Christianity,— whoever is able to discern the certainty that the

claims of Christianity to mold political action in its own interest must sooner or later be submitted for adjudication to the supreme law of the land, by which they are not even verbally recognized,— will not fall into the superficiality of inferring the future fortunes of this movement, either from the medieval character of its pretensions or the present insignificance of its success. It may possibly be that the Christian churches do not really care for their own existence, and are prepared to surrender it without a struggle, but we do not so read history. So soon as they come to comprehend fully the fact that their legal 'Sabbath,' their Bible in schools, and all their present legal privileges, must one by one slip away inevitably from their grasp, unless they defend them in the only possible way, by grounding them on Constitutional guarantees, it seems to us an irresistible conclusion from history and experience that they will arouse themselves to protect these possessions as infinitely important. If they do not, they have achieved a degree of moral rottenness, cowardice, and hypocrisy, which we are very slow to attribute to them. These champions of a Christianized Constitution are to-day the POLITICAL BRAIN of the Christian church. Conceding their premises, which are simply those of the universal evangelical communion, it is impossible to deny their conclusions. It is these premises that we dispute, not the logicalness of the conclusions themselves; and although we hold that the same premises, if further carried out, must lead to the Roman Catholic position expressed by the Vatican decrees, we none the less admit the necessity of traveling that road from the starting-point, if it is once fairly entered upon. Hence we are as strongly convinced as ever that the Christian-Amendment movement contains the germ of a demand that *must sooner or later be heard asserted with perilous emphasis,* by the body of orthodox Christian churches."

The New York *Independent,* in January, 1875, showed up the inconsistency of this movement in a most convincing way. The propositions probe to the very core, the false principles, self-contradictory claims, and groundless assumptions that lie at the foundation of this movement. The paragraphs are so pointed and pungent that we quote them entire as follows:—

"This being a Christian nation, we have the right to acknowledge God in the Constitution; because, as things are now, this is not a Christian nation, and needs such recognition to make it one.

"This having always been a Christian nation, we have a right to keep it such; and therefore we need this amendment, since hitherto, without it, we have only been a heathen nation.

"In other words, we need to make this a Christian nation, because we are already such, on the ground that if we do not make it such, we are not a Christian nation.

"Because the people are substantially all Christians, we have a right, and have need, to make the Constitution Christian, to check our powerful element of unbelievers.

"We mean to interfere with no man's rights, but only to get certain rights, now belonging to all, restricted to Christians.

"This religious amendment is to have no practical effect, its object being to check infidelity.

"It is to interfere with no man's rights, but only to make the unbeliever concede to Christians the right to rule in their interest, and to give up like claims for himself.

"It is meant to have no practical effect, and therefore will be of great use to us.

"We want to recognize God, and Christianity as our national duty to Deity, but intend to give no effect to such recognition, pleasing God by judicially voting ourselves pious, and doing nothing more.

"We shall leave all religions in equality before the law, and make Christianity the adopted religion of the nation.

"Christianity, being justice, requires us to put down infidelity by taking advantage of our numbers to secure rights which we do not allow to others.

"Justice to Christians is one thing, and to infidels another.

"We being a Christian people, the Jewish and unbelieving portion of our people are not, of right, part of the people.

"And so, having no rights which we, as Christians, are bound to respect, we must adopt this amendment in our interest.

"Passing this act will not make any to be Christians who are not Christians; but it is needed to make this a more Christian nation.

"The people are not to be made more Christian by it; but since the nation can not be Christian unless the people are, it

George Washington

"Every man who conducts himself as a good citizen is accountable to God alone for his religious faith, and should be protected in worshiping God according to the dictates of his own conscience."—*From letter written by Washington with direct reference to Sunday legislation, in reply to letter from a Seventh-day Baptist society, some of whose members had been prosecuted for doing Sunday work.*

is meant to make the nation Christian without affecting the people.

"That is, the object of this amendment is to make the nation Christian without making the people Christians.

"By putting God in the Constitution he will be recognized by nobody else than those who already recognize him; and therefore we need this amendment for a fuller recognition of him.

"If we say we believe in God and Christ in the Constitution, it is true of those believing in him and a lie as to the rest; and as the first class already recognize him, we want this amendment as a recognition by the latter class, so that our whole people shall recognize him.

"Whether we have an acknowledgment of God in the Constitution or not, we are a Christian nation; and, therefore, it is this recognition of God that is to make us a Christian nation."

Of course, appropriate legislation will be required to carry these proposed amendments into effect, and somebody will have to decide what are "Christian laws and institutions," since it is demanded that "all Christian laws, institutions, and usages of the government" shall be placed "on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the

land." And when this question is raised, who will be appealed to as qualified to determine the matter in question?— The doctors of religion, of course. Then what shall we have?— The church sitting in judgment on men's religious opinions, the church defining heresy, and the state waiting its beck to carry out whatever sentence shall be affixed to a deviation from what the church shall declare to be "Christian laws and institutions." But was not this exactly the situation in the darkest reign of Roman Catholicism? And would not its production here be a very *"image to the beast"*?— Yea, verily. But this is the inevitable sequence of the success of this effort to secure a religious amendment of the Constitution. From what we learn of such movements in the past in other countries, and of the temper of the churches of this country, and of human nature when it has power suddenly conferred upon it, we look for no good from this movement. From a lengthy article in the Lansing (Michigan) *State Republican* in reference to the Cincinnati convention, we take the following extract:—

Thomas Jefferson

"I consider the government of the United States as interdicted by the Constitution from intermeddling with religious institutions, their doctrines, discipline, or exercises."—*Jefferson's Letter to Rev. Mr. Millar, Jan. 23, 1808.*

"Now there are hundreds and thousands of moral and pro-

fessedly Christian people in this nation to-day who do not recognize the doctrine of the trinity,— do not recognize Jesus Christ the same as God. And there are hundreds and thousands of men and women who do not recognize the Bible as the revelation of God. The attempt to make any such amendment to the Constitution would be regarded by a large minority, perhaps a majority, of our nation as a palpable violation of liberty of conscience. Thousands of men, if called upon to vote for such an amendment, would hesitate to vote against God, although they might not believe that the amendment is necessary or that it is right; and such men would either vote affirmatively or not at all. In every case, such an amendment would be likely to receive an affirmative vote which would by no means indicate the true sentiment of the people. And the same rule would hold good in relation to the adoption of such an amendment by Congress or by the legislatures of three-quarters of the States. Men who make politics a trade would hesitate to record their names against the proposed Constitutional amendment, advocated by the leaders of the great religious denominations of the land, and indorsed by such men as Bishop Simpson, Bishop Mc Ilvaine, Bishop Eastburn, President Finney, Professor Lewis, Professor Seelye, Bishop Huntington, Bishop Kerfoot, Dr. Patterson, Dr. Cuyler, and many other divines who are the representative men of their respective denominations."

Not only the representative men of the churches are pledged to this movement, but governors, judges, and many who are among the most eminent men of the land in other directions, are working for it. Who doubts the power of the "representative men of the denominations" to rally the strength of their denominations to sustain this work at their call? We utter no prophecy of the future; it is not needed. Events transpire in these days faster than our minds are prepared to grasp them. Let us heed the admonition to "watch!" and with reliance upon God, prepare for "those things which are coming on the earth."

But it may be asked how the Sunday question is to be affected by the proposed Constitutional amendment. *Answer:* The object, or to say the least, *one* object, of this amendment,

Patrick Henry

"Religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience . . . unpunished and unrestrained by the magistrate."—*Tyler's "Patrick Henry," pages 183, 184.*

is to put the Sunday institution on a legal basis, and compel its observance by the arm of the law. At the national convention held in Philadelphia, Jan. 18, 19, 1871, the following resolution was among the first offered by the business committee:—

"*Resolved,* That, in view of the controlling power of the Constitution in shaping State as well as national policy, it is of immediate importance to public morals and social order, to secure such an amendment as will indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all Christian laws, institutions, and usages in our government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land, specially those which secure a proper oath, and which protect society against blasphemy, Sabbath-breaking, and polygamy."

By Sabbath-breaking is meant nothing else but Sunday-breaking. In a convention of the friends of Sunday, assembled Nov. 29, 1870, in New Concord, Ohio, the Rev. James White is reported to have said:—

"The question [of Sunday observance] is closely connected with the National Reform movement; for until the government

comes to know God and honor his law, we need not expect to restrain Sabbath-breaking corporations."

Here again the idea of the legal enforcement of Sunday observance stands uppermost.

Once more: The Philadelphia *Press*, of Dec. 5, 1870, stated that some congressmen, including Vice-President Colfax, arrived in Washington by Sunday trains, December 4; on which the *Christian Statesman* commented as follows (we give italics as we find them):—

"1. *Not one of those men who thus violated the Sabbath is fit to hold any official position in a Christian nation.* . . .

"He who violates the Sabbath may not steal, because the judgment of society so strongly condemns theft, or because he believes that honesty is the best policy; but tempt him with the prospect of concealment or the prospect of advantage, and there can be no reason why he who robs God will not rob his neighbor also. For this reason the Sabbath law lies at the foundation of morality. Its observance is an acknowledgment of the sovereign rights of God over us.

"2. *The sin of these congressmen is a national sin,* because the nation hath not said to them in the Constitution, the supreme rule for our public servants, 'We charge you to serve us in accordance with the higher law of God.' These Sabbath-breaking railroads, moreover, are corporations created by the State, and amenable to it. The State is responsible to God for the conduct of these creatures which it calls into being. It is bound, therefore, to restrain them from this as from other crimes, and any violation of the Sabbath by any corporation, should work immediate forfeiture of its charter. And the Constitution of the United States, with which all State legislation is required to be in harmony, should be of such a character as to prevent any State from tolerating such infractions of fundamental moral law.

"3. Give us in the national Constitution the simple acknowledgment of the law of God as the supreme law of nations, and *all the results indicated in this note will ultimately be secured.* Let no one say that the movement does not contemplate sufficiently practical ends."

Let the full import of these words be carefully considered.

James Madison

"Religion is not in the purview of human government. Religion is essentially distinct from government and exempt from its cognizance. A connection between them is injurious to both."—*Madison's letter to Edward Everett.*

The writer was by some unaccountable impulse betrayed into a revelation of the real policy and aim of this movement. He holds up to the public view those congressmen who traveled on Sunday, as men who would rob and steal if they saw an opportunity to do so without danger of detection! Not one of them, he says, is fit to hold any office in the government. He would make this religious test a qualification for office, contrary to the Constitution. Every corporation that infringes upon Sunday should be immediately destroyed by a forfeiture of its charter. And what, then, of the individual, in this respect, who does not observe the Sunday? Of course he could fare no better than the corporations,— he must be at once suspended from business. What does the prophecy say the enactment will be?—"That no man might buy or sell save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name." Could there be a more direct fulfilment than this would be, if once carried out as the religious amendmentists are trying to do?

From all this we see the important place the Sabbath question is to hold in this movement,— the important place

it even now holds in the minds of those who are urging it forward. Let the amendment called for be granted, "and all the results indicated in this note," says the writer, "will ultimately be secured;" that is, individuals and corporations will be restrained from violating the Sunday rest day. The acknowledgment of God in the Constitution may do very well as a banner under which to sail; but the practical bearing of the movement relates to the compulsory observance of the first day of the week.

At the present time we see this National Reform Association making a rapid growth in power and influence, and extending the sphere of its operations to countries across the sea. It is now able to conduct "world conferences" to promote the "Christian citizenship" movement, and to bring to these gatherings speakers of national and even international reputation. The first of these world conferences was held in Philadelphia in November, 1910, and its program presented such speakers as F. E. Clark, president of the World's Christian Endeavor Union, Bishop Neely of the Methodist Church, the Rev. Dr. McCauley, district secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, Attorney John A. Patterson, of Toronto, representing the Canadian government, the Rev. David J. Burrell, president of the Alliance of Reformed Churches, together with missionaries from India and China, and from Roman and Greek Catholic countries. A "program of united action for Christian citizens in all countries" was presented at this conference, in which it was stated:—

"We ask Christian citizens of all nations to consider whether any man who proclaims by his conduct that he does not fear God and has no regard for his moral laws, can be rightly or safely elected to civil office. We appeal to good citizens in all countries to withhold their suffrages from men whose character

Benjamin Franklin

"When religion is good, it will take care of itself; when it is not able to take care of itself, and God does not see fit to take care of it, so that it has to appeal to the civil power for support, it is evidence to my mind that its cause is a bad one."—*Franklin's letter to Dr. Price.*

and conduct show them to be unfit to deal with the moral and religious interests of the people."

The following resolution, among others, was adopted:—

"This conference expresses its appreciation of the fact that so many missionaries are alive to the importance of the kingship of Christ over the nations, and we urge upon all missionaries in all lands the inculcation of these principles, and that they testify in their respective nations for the royal prerogative of Jesus in national life."

A second World's Christian Citizenship Conference was held at Portland, Ore., in the summer of 1913. For this occasion speakers had been secured from Europe and Asia as well as from the United States, and large audiences were present at most of the meetings. The National Reform Association which conducted this conference has enlarged its program of work until it now includes almost every popular reform measure and every real or supposed benefit affecting the church, the family, and the State. Its program is, indeed, practically identical with that of the Federal Council of Churches; and to the outside observer no reason is apparent for a separate existence of these two organizations. But the National Reform Association, whatever program of

philanthropic work it may put forward, cherishes most of all the idea of securing a national "recognition of God" by amendment of the federal Constitution, and no doubt finds in this sufficient reason for separation from other reform bodies. The Portland Convention showed that the association is on the road to success in its efforts to reach the people and create public sentiment in support of its ideas.

In its published program of action the association says: "We recommend that the various religious bodies of the world, with all national and international agencies of social and political redemption, arrange for an international conference for the consideration of questions of international reform. We request every national religious body in the world to appoint a committee on Christian citizenship and social service. And we urge that an effort be made in a concerted

Ford Theater, Washington, D. C., Where Lincoln Was Assassinated

Abraham Lincoln

people of these United States are the rightful . . . not to overthrow the Constitution, but throw the men who pervert the Constitution."—*Speech to the Kentuckians, Sept. 17, 1859.*

and systematic way to enlist the governments of the earth in all righteous and necessary measures of world progress."

The question began some years ago to be agitated why the Jew should be allowed to follow his business on the first day, after having observed the seventh. The same question is equally pertinent to all seventh-day keepers. A writer signing himself "American," in the Boston *Herald* of Dec. 14, 1871, said:—

The President in his late message, in speaking of the Mor- question, says, 'They shall not be permitted to break the law r the cloak of religion.' This undoubtedly meets the ap- al of every American citizen, and I wish to cite a parallel and ask, Why should the Jews of this country be allowed ep open their stores on the Sabbath, under the cloak of their ion, while I, or any other true American, will be arrested suffer punishment for doing the same thing? If there is a ision made allowing a few to conduct business on the Sab- what justice and equality can there be in any such pro- n, and why should it not be stopped at once?"

The appeal to the case of the Mormons will doubtless be taking; but it is very misleading; for the Mormon tise of polygamy interferes directly with the rights of

one-half of the community, and with its far-reaching influence demoralizes the relations of all. And any practise which encroaches on the rights of others, whether under the plea of conscience or religious liberty or not, the civil power has the right to step in and restrain, but not any religious practise which does not encroach on the rights of any other one. Observing the Sabbath interferes with no one's rights as Mormonism does. The question why the Mormon should be restrained from his polygamy, while the Sabbath-keeper should not be restrained from keeping the Sabbath, is easily answered. There is no parallel.

And this question, we apprehend, will be very summarily decided adversely to the Jew and every other seventh-day observer, when once the Constitutional amendment has been secured.

From a work recently issued by the Presbyterian Board of Publication, entitled, "The Sabbath," by Chas. Elliott, professor of Biblical Literature and Exegesis in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary of the Northwest, Chicago, Ill., we take the following paragraph:—

"But it may be asked, Would not the Jew be denied equality of rights by legislation protecting the Christian Sabbath and ignoring the Jewish? The answer is, We are not a Jewish, but a Christian nation; therefore our *legislation must be conformed* to the institutions and spirit of Christianity. This is absolutely necessary from the nature of the case."

There is no mistaking the import of this language. No matter if the Jew does not secure equal rights with others. We are not a Jewish nation, but a Christian; and all must be made to conform to what the majority decide to be Christian institutions. This affects all who observe the seventh day as much as it does the Jews; and we apprehend it will not be a difficult matter to lead the masses, whose prejudices al-

U. S. Grant

"Let us labor for the security of free thought, free speech, pure morals, unfettered religious sentiments, and equal rights and privileges for all men, irrespective of nationality, color, or religion; . . . leave the matter of religious teaching to the family altar, the church, and the private school, supported entirely by private contribution. Keep the church and state forever separate."—*Grant's speech to G. A. R. Veterans, at Des Moines, Iowa, September, 1875.*

ready incline them in this direction, to believe that it is "absolutely necessary" that all legislation must take such a form, and cause them to act accordingly.

In 1882 the Sunday question was made the main issue, in a State election, between the two great parties, Democratic and Republican. In the fall election, California made this issue, and gave to our country the first spectacle of a strictly religious question in the arena of politics. In this struggle Sunday was led to the front under the mantle of a "police regulation," a merely "civil institution." The workingman, said the Sunday advocate, must be secured in his right to a day of rest. This claim was too transparent to conceal from view the real object; for the law which it was sought to enforce was not the law of the civil code, which makes Sunday a legal holiday and gives every one the privilege of resting on it who chooses to do so, but it was the Sunday law of the *penal* code, which was enacted for the purpose of making all desecration of the day an offense against *religion,* and punishing it as such.

Now if the design was simply to secure rest to the people on that day, the civil code already provided for that, and no one proposed to interfere with the action of that law; but if it was to enforce Sunday as a religious institution, on religious grounds alone, the law of the penal code was the one to enforce; and in that direction the effort was made. The object was therefore sufficiently apparent.

The Democrats having inserted in their platform a plank calling for the repeal of the Sunday law, the Republicans, in their State convention, which convened in Sacramento, Sept. 30, 1882, introduced into their platform a plank calling for the maintenance of the law. Thus the issue was fairly joined. The scene in the Sacramento convention when the Sunday plank was read, baffles description. The four hundred and fifty delegates broke into a vociferous shout; they clapped their hands, stamped with their feet, threw up their hats, and hugged each other in a delirium of joy. It was a wild, insane spirit, on which neither argument nor the testimony of Scripture would make the least impression.

The Democrats carried the election, and the Sunday law was in due time repealed. And now the friends of the institution turn more vigorously than ever toward the national movement which is working for the religious amendment.

It is a significant fact also that the Sunday agitation is appearing in foreign countries simultaneously with the Sunday movement in this country. The New York *Independent* of Oct. 1, 1885, published the following significant article touching the question of Sunday-keeping in Europe:—

"No *desideratum* of the social and religious world is now being more actively agitated in Central Europe than the project of a better observance of the Lord's day. It seems that the so-called 'Continental Sunday' is doomed 'to go'; and no friend of public and private morals will do otherwise than rejoice that its day of doom appears to have come. For years an interna-

Senator Elihu Root, of New York

"I care not how small may be the numbers of a political faith or a religious sect; . . . now, in this twentieth century, with all the light of the civilization of our times, after a century and a quarter passed by this great and free people following the footsteps of Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, and Madison,—now with all the peoples of the world following their footsteps in the establishment of constitutional governments, the hand of a single man appealing to that justice which exists independently of all majorities, has a power that we can not ignore nor deny but at the sacrifice of the best and the noblest elements of government."—*From speech by Senator Root, reported in Congressional Record, Aug. 7, 1911.*

tional association, organized for the purpose of educating public sentiment on this point, has been busily at work, with headquarters at Geneva, and by means of branch associations, publications, annual delegate meetings, petitions, and the like, has managed to keep the subject constantly before the public."

Who can explain the fact that Sunday seems everywhere coming to the front, except on the ground that *we have reached the time pointed out in prophecy* when such a movement should be seen? The Chester (England) *Chronicle* reported a meeting of three thousand persons in Liverpool in favor of closing all public houses on Sunday. The *Christian Statesman* gave information from England to the effect that a "Workingman's Lord's Day Rest Association" had been formed there, and that two of England's late prime ministers had given their voice against the opening of museums, etc., on Sunday. The same policy is enforced by some, at least, of the English in their dependencies. One

of the first acts of the Viceroy of India, was, according to the *Christian Weekly,* to issue an order forbidding official work of any kind on Sunday.

In France the question is also agitated. The Senate having occasion to consider some proposed changes in the Sunday laws, an eminent senator opened the eyes of his hearers by a clear argument showing that the seventh day, and not the first day, is the Sabbath of the Bible.

In Switzerland and Germany, also, this question is before the people. In the latter country, according to the New York *Independent,* a meeting was held a few years ago, attended by some five thousand persons, to encourage a more strict observance of Sunday. Many of these were Socialists.

Austria also shares in the general movement. A New York paper in January, 1883, published the following item:—

"A telegram from Vienna, Austria, says: 'A meeting of three thousand workmen was held to-day, at which a resolution was passed protesting against Sunday work. A resolution was also passed in favor of legal prohibition of newspaper and other work on that day.'"

The churches can carry their point whenever they can become sufficiently aroused to take general and concerted action in the matter. The late David Swing, at a ministers' meeting in Chicago, held for the purpose of deliberating in regard to a better observance of Sunday, according to a report in the *Inter-Ocean,* said:—

"Group together these churches,— Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Congregational, Episcopal, and Catholic,— and they make up a powerful group of generals and soldiers. They can throw great armies into the field. Whoever should hope to lift up suffering humanity without asking the aid of all these heroes of old battle-fields, would simply show how feeble he is in the search of great means to a great end."

Realizing that any attempt to enforce a religious institution would be contrary to American principles and to popular sentiment in this country, the plea is made by this party that the Sunday is to be enforced only as a *civil* institution. They admit that to enforce the keeping of the day as an act of religion, would be to violate the spirit of the Constitution and strike a blow at religious liberty, but say that the State has a right to enforce it as a "sanitary measure," a "police regulation," a merely "civil enactment;" and that with this seventh-day keepers must comply, or move elsewhere.

Richard W. Thompson, when Secretary of the Navy, said:—

"I take it there is no principle better fixed in the American mind than the determination to insist upon the conformity by foreigners to our Sunday legislation. We are a Sabbath-keeping people. [Applause.] Men say that we have no power to interfere with the natural right of individuals; that a man may spend Sunday as he pleases. But society has a right to make laws for its own protection. They are not religious laws. The men engaged in this grand work of securing the enforcement of the Sabbath laws, do not want to force you into any church; for these gentlemen represent all denominations. They want to make you observe the Sabbath day as a day of rest merely,—*peaceably if they can, forcibly if they must,*—only so far as it is necessary to protect society. Destroy the Sabbath, and you go out of light into darkness. A government without the Sabbath as a civil institution, could not stand long enough to fall. [Applause.]"

And yet with all these professions they find it impossible to conceal the fact that it is, after all, a *religious* observance which they wish to secure. Thus Mr. Thompson continues:—

"Why are we so specially interested in Sabbath laws?— Because there is no other government that depends so much on the *morality* of its citizens as ours. Here, where we have a republic with its existence depending on the mass of the people,

it is necessary to have a general *observance of the Sabbath.*"

The italics in the foregoing quotation are ours; and we thus emphasize these words because we must insist that the devoting of a day to cessation from labor in obedience to a law of the State is in no sense the "observance of the Sabbath," even though the right day were selected for that purpose. For the very idea of the Sabbath is a religious idea. It is derived from the example and command of God. There is no Sabbath in any spiritual sense, except the day that God made such by resting upon it. And when the day is observed as a religious act, on the authority of God's Word and as his Word directs, the Sabbath is observed, but not otherwise. Neither is compliance with a State law to stop work on a certain day, in any just sense the practise of "morality," unless the State is the source of that grace, and civil laws are moral laws. Yet Mr. Thompson's language betrays the fact that it is "morality" and the "observance of the Sabbath" that it is intended to enforce.

The people of Louisville, Ky., in the call for a mass-meeting "for the purpose of securing a better observance of our weekly rest day," endeavored to draw a sharp distinction on this point, as follows:—

"With regard to the Sabbath as a religious institution, we propose to do nothing whatever in this meeting. We withdraw from the discussion every religious question. Your attention will be called exclusively to the Sabbath as a civil institution, a day of rest from labor and public amusements, set apart for that purpose by the immemorial usage of the American people and laws of the land."

Such a presentation of the subject will captivate many minds, and lead thousands to act from a standpoint of secular policy as they would not dare to act from that of religious toleration.

Even the New York *Independent,* after its scathing

Representative Richard Bartholdt, of Missouri

"I believe in a complete separation of church and state, and in this belief go so far as to assert that the daily prayers in this House, as well as all Sunday laws, are unconstitutional, because they signify a mixing of church and state."—*From speech by Hon. Richard Bartholdt, reported in Congressional Record, Dec. 16, 1912.*

exposure of the inconsistency of the religious amendment movement, as given on p. 245, is carried away with this kind of logic. The case calling out its remarks was this: Certain Jews in New York City made application for an injunction restraining the police from arresting them for pursuing their ordinary business on the first day of the week, on the ground that they were observers of the seventh day. The injunction was temporarily granted by Judge Arnoux; but was soon after dissolved, on the plea that the business of the applicants would not come under the head of "works of mercy or necessity." The New York penal code makes only this provision for the observers of the seventh day:—

"It is a sufficient defense to prosecution for servile labor on the first day of the week, that the defendant uniformly keeps another day of the week as holy time, and does not labor on that day; and that the labor complained of was done in such a manner as not to interrupt or disturb other persons in observing the first day of the week as holy time."

It is now argued that this is no ground for exemption from arrest for Sunday labor; for such labor is a violation of

the letter of the law, and the law does not presume that a man has a defense till he makes one. Therefore, although a man is well known to be a conscientious observer of the seventh day, he may be arrested whenever found working on the first day, and put to all the annoyance and trouble of making a defense. And such a course of action is defended as right.

To the question, Would not this be a hardship to the Jews and Seventh-day Baptists? the *Independent* makes answer that this is incidental to their living in a community which makes Sunday the day of rest, and can not be avoided without destroying the day of rest altogether.

Again it says that if the Sunday law —

"Is not equally well fitted to the Jews, as it is not, who form but a mere fragment of the people, this is an inconvenience to them which they must bear, and which the law can not remove without imposing a much greater inconvenience upon a far larger number of persons."

Now comes the distinction on the strength of which these sentiments are uttered. Again we quote:—

"If it [the Sunday law] enforced any kind of religious observance upon them, this would be unjust; but there is no injustice in requiring them to observe Sunday as a day of rest in a community in which, for good and sufficient general reasons, the day is so observed. If they do not like it, we see no remedy for them except in a withdrawal from such community."

But where would they go if they were to withdraw from "such community," as is here so kindly suggested; for if we mistake not, it is the intention that every community in the country shall be alike in the making and enforcing of Sunday laws. We find the question answered by Rev. E. B. Graham, who while vice-president of the National Reform Association made a speech at York, Nebr., in which he gave free utterance to the sentiments of his party. As quoted in the *Christian Statesman* of May 21, 1888, Mr. Graham said:—

"We might add in all justice: If the opponents of the Bible do not like our government and its Christian features, let them go to some wild, desolate land, and in the name of the devil and for the sake of the devil, subdue it, and set up a government of their own on infidel and atheistic ideas; and then if they can stand it, stay there till they die!"

It will, without doubt, be conceded by all that the present clamor for Sunday legislation is owing entirely to the fact that the great majority of religionists regard the day as a divine institution, and its observance as a religious duty. But some do not so regard it, because they understand that God has set apart another day for the Sabbath, and does not require the observance of this one; and when such are compelled to observe the first day, in what position are they at once placed?— They are made to keep the day because others regard it as a divine institution, while they do not so regard it, and to pay homage to a religious custom which is contrary to their conviction of duty. They are deprived of one-sixth of the time which God has given them for labor, and are thus *robbed of one-sixth* of their *means of support,* if they live by the labor of their hands, as most of them do, because a more popular, stronger religion demands it, and the State unlawfully and unscripturally confirms that demand. Is there not here religious discrimination? Are not the consciences of one class *oppressed* in the interest of another class? Is not this an interference on the part of the State with the spiritual freedom of its subjects? Is not this religious intolerance and persecution for conscience' sake? Such, in reality, it is, however much people may try to disguise it by other names.

In a later issue, in reply to the question from a correspondent, "Will you please tell me how this has nothing to do with religion?" the *Independent* says:—

"We can only repeat that it is a great disadvantage to be

in the minority. People there may be right; but they must suffer and submit."

Every one, from the days of the apostles down, who has suffered from religious oppression, could testify in regard to the disadvantage of being in the minority. But is this government, which professes to guarantee to the weakest and humblest citizen his just rights, now to take the position that such rights can not be secured unless he is with the majority?

Again the *Independent* says:—

"All the State wants is that the citizen shall have one day in seven for rest, not for religion."

But can any one tell why the large majority can not "rest" just as well on the first day, even if the small minority who keep the seventh day go about any legitimate and honorable occupation? If it is "rest" merely that is wanted, does my work hinder my neighbor from resting? But no! if you are seen at work, you will be arrested. Therefore, it is not simply the *privilege of rest* for those who desire it, but a *compulsory* rest, whether you wish it or not, because others desire that you shall rest as well as themselves. Again we quote:—

"If they insist on so working as to interfere with the rest day of the majority, they must either move or be moved away. We are sorry, but there is no help for it."

We know of no observers of the seventh day who have the least intention of *interfering,* or desire to interfere, or do interfere, with others in their observance of the first day. They ask for no *right* to do anything of this kind. They would religiously refrain from disturbing either the *private rest* or the *public devotion* of any on that day. But we apprehend that the very fact that they do not keep the day, nor acknowledge its claims, will be construed to amount to a suf-

Senator W. B. Heyburn, of Idaho

"I have a due regard for the observance of the Sabbath, and I believe it should be observed; but I do not believe in legislation compelling one to do it, . . . I do not approve of this class of legislation. It was such legislation as this that wrote the annals of bloodshed and oppression and intolerance in the religious history of the world where a part of the people undertook to be sponsors for the conscience of another part."—*Senator Heyburn, speaking on the Johnston Sunday Bill, Congressional Record, May 26, 1911.*

ficient "interference" and "disturbance" to call for repressive measures. Let them "move or be moved."

The opposition to the religious amendment manifested in many parts of the country, especially by the liberal or infidel element, is thought by many to be an insuperable barrier in the way of its success. But if we mistake not, this is the very stimulus which will excite its friends to such exertions that it will ultimately be secured; for the opposition assumes such an aggressive attitude that no neutral ground is left; an irrepressible conflict is precipitated; it must be victory or defeat of the most decisive kind with one party or the other; the government must become nominally wholly Christian or in reality wholly secular.

Thus the National Reform Association set forth the object they have in view by the second article of their Constitution, which reads as follows:—

"The object of this society shall be to maintain existing

Christian features in the American government, and to secure such an amendment to the Constitution of the United States as will indicate that this is a Christian nation, and place all the Christian laws, institutions, and usages of our government on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land."

On the other hand, in opposition to this National Reform movement, Liberalism sets forth its sweeping antagonistic demands in the following platform:—

"1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall no longer be exempt from just taxation.

"2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in State Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums, and all other institutions supported by public money, shall be discontinued.

"3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

"4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a textbook or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

"5. We demand that the appointment, by the President of the United States or by the governors of the various States, of all religious festivals and fasts, shall wholly cease.

"6. We demand that the judicial oath, in the courts and in all other departments of the government, shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

"7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

"8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of 'Christian' morality shall be abrogated, and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

"9. We demand that not only in the Constitutions of the United States and of the several States, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privilege or advantage shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove

necessary to this end, shall be consistently, unflinchingly, and promptly made."

Thus while frequent conventions are held by the National Reform party, counter conventions are held by the Liberalists; and the forces are marshaling on both sides.

The Chicago *Express* contained an article written by Bishop Foster, of the Methodist Church. While traveling in Europe, he took occasion to speak of those forms of worship there which are supported by law, and the acts that led to such a state of things. He says:—

"That there is but little real, vital personal religion in these lands, is among the most patent facts. . . . I know of nothing more sad than the religious condition of Europe, and *the saddest part of it is that it is chargeable to the church itself, and therefore the more hopeless. If something is not speedily done, the so-called Christian church will drive Christianity from these ancient lands, if not from the whole world.*"

In speaking of the primary causes which led to this spiritual condition, he says:—

"Did Constantine make the Roman mind Christian by abolishing paganism, and proclaiming the religion of the cross in its stead, and, creating the constituted Roman nation into a church, make the nation a Christian church? or did he not rather paganize Christianity?"

Speaking still further of the present state of things, he says:—

"By a false theory, the church has been taken from the people, and *converted into a priestly and political machine, and has ceased to be a church of Christ,* as much as the papal machine at Rome. . . . This condition of things is the sad inheritance of the union of church and state."

The editor of the *Express,* in calling attention to these statements of the bishop, says:—

"The church in America has also very largely become a po-

litical machine, and has been used as a means of raising a campaign fund to retain and maintain the party in power, and return men to office who had betrayed the people, and sold them to the giant corporations of the land. . . . How long, we would ask, will it be before the church in America, like the church in Europe, will be forced to seek an alliance with the state in order to sustain itself, because of the indifference of the people, who perceive its iniquitous practises, and scoff at its pretended Christianity? Already a union of the two is a thing openly spoken of as desirable.

"We have before us at this moment a religious journal, the *Sabbath Sentinel,* which in its leading editorial warns the church against the tendency. The rich men within the church, who have taken shelter there against public condemnation of their crimes of extortion, are ready at any time for the union — more than ready. They would do with their taxes to the church as they have done with their taxes to the state,— frame the laws in such a way that the poor shall be forced to pay for them. Every one of the causes which produced the union of church and state in Europe, exists either in full bloom or in embryo in this country; and here, as there, 'if something is not speedily done, the so-called Christian church will drive Christianity from the land.'

"Again we say, with the bishop, 'Let the church of God come out from the world; let it be made of followers and disciples of Christ; let it represent righteousness and truth; let it cut loose from false and entangling alliances; let its priests be clothed with salvation, and its citizens be a holy communion; let it demonstrate its divine lineage,— let this be the watch-cry of Zion, and then it will be a power in the earth, and will silence the taunt of its enemies.'"

In the Richland *Star* published in Bellville, Ohio, an infidel wrote against the National Reform party, which had then recently held a convention in Mansfield, Ohio, concluding his remarks as follows:—

"The lash and the sword have always proved poor ambassadors of Christ. If we live up to our Constitution as it now is, we shall be good citizens, and have all the room we care to occupy as Christians."

To this writer a Mr. W. W. Anderson replied in the next

Photo by Harris & Ewing

Representative McMillan, of New York

"I would rather have a love and a respect for the Sabbath day implanted in a man's heart than all the laws you could put on the statute books."—*Representative McMillan at a hearing on Johnston Sunday Bill, 1909.*

issue of the same paper, in defense of the association, giving expression, in his remarks, to this sentiment:—

"Either we are a Christian nation, or we are not. Either our Sabbath laws, so essential to good order and the welfare of all classes, are to be maintained, or they are to be abrogated. In the latter case, we shall wade through blood, as Paris did when under infidel rule."

These passages show that the contestants are fully aware of the nature and magnitude of the struggle upon which the Christian world is now entering.

A minister in Kansas, an agent of the National Reform Association, uses the term, "a second irrepressible conflict," to describe the antagonism now arising between theology and secularism, as embodied in the present movement for a religious amendment of the Constitution of the United States. The opposition to this he likens to the great Rebellion, and asks if we are not to have another such rebellion. A few words from his pen will set forth his views in this respect, and indicate the length to which he would be willing to go in its suppression. He says:—

"The great Rebellion, which was put down at such frightful

cost, was a rebellion which aimed to ***strike down liberty*** from its place in the American government. The rising rebellion we have yet to deal with, aims to ***strike down Christianity*** from the place it has held in our government from its origin to the present hour."

This, he thinks, can be met only by the amendment movement of the National Reform party. And he leaves it to be inferred that if the success of this movement should cost even as great a sacrifice as the suppression of our late political Rebellion, the sacrifice should be made rather than that the religious amendment movement should fail. For he says:—

"The success of the present endeavor to conform our government in every respect to its acknowledged secular Constitution, would be followed by consequences *more revolutionary* and *more frightful* [italics his] than would have followed the success of the endeavor of the proslavery party of the North and of the South, to conform our government in every respect to our then proslavery Constitution."

If this is so, the rising rebellion, before which he stands appalled, should be put down even at a greater sacrifice than the former.

But it might be well to inquire what has given Liberalism its recent impulse toward the secularization of the State. Is it not the National Reform movement itself? We heard nothing about the "demands" of Liberalism, nor their specially aggressive work, till the amendmentists began to seek the aid of the civil power in behalf of religious customs and dogmas. This naturally threw the Liberalists into an active defensive movement under the menace of the loss of their civil rights. Thus the amendmentists find that they have conjured up a demon which they would now fain exorcise. Neither party can recede from the positions it has taken. The crisis must now come; and the amendmentists see no way to meet it on their part, but to carry through to

the desperate end the movement by which it has been precipitated.

A very marked and rapid change is taking place in public opinion relative to the proposed religious amendment of the Constitution. Some who were at first openly hostile to the movement, are now giving their influence for its advancement, and clamoring loudly for a Sunday law, and some who at first regarded it with indifference, are now becoming its warm partisans.

The course of the *Examiner and Chronicle,* a leading Baptist journal of our country, affords an illustration. When the movement for the religious amendment of the Constitution was inaugurated, this paper, alluding thereto, said:—

"We have wondered at the magical effects ascribed to the sacraments according to high church theology. But turning a nation of atheists to Christians by a few strokes of the pen, by a vote in Congress, and ratifying votes in three-fourths of the State Legislatures, is equally miraculous and incomprehensible. This agitation for a national religion, officially professed, has for its logical outcome, persecution — that, and nothing more or less. It is a movement backward to the era of Constantine; as far below the spirituality of the New Testament as it is below the freedom of republican America."

But the same paper, in an article on "The Day of Rest," changed its tone in reference to national action on this question, as follows:—

"By these and other considerations, therefore, we are justified in holding that the spirit of the fourth commandment, with all its divine sanctions and sacred privileges, applies in full force to the Christian day of rest. To preserve it from profanation, to maintain its inestimable privileges, to secure to all the sanitary, moral, family, and civic benefits of which M. Proudhon wrote, as well as the undisturbed enjoyment of religious service on that day, is a duty which Christians owe at once to their country and their God. And in this work *governments should aid,* within their sphere, in the interest of public morals, and in the general well-being of society."

Almost as fast as the matter is brought to the attention of churches and conferences, sentiments favoring the so-called National Reform movement are indorsed. The danger is that many will be drawn into the movement without perceiving its true import, and the evils to which it will lead; that they will favor an amendment of the Constitution, thinking it will be made better, not understanding that the final result will be to transform it from the grand egis of our liberties into an instrument of unrighteousness and oppression.

Yet, notwithstanding all these indications of the sentiment fast growing up in the religious circles of this country to establish religion by law, some are still skeptical in regard to the possibility of any such revolution; and when we express the opinion that the majority of the professors of religion, and others, are to combine so far as to enact a general law for the observance of the so-called "Christian" or "American" Sabbath, we are met with expressions of the utmost incredulity in regard to such a movement. A law of that kind, they say, can never be carried, as it would interfere with too many kinds of business, and there are too many Liberals and irreligious persons to oppose it. And yet, when pressed right down to an expression of their own views in the matter, these very persons will take the position that there ought to be such a law. Now do they not see that all that is necessary is to have such persons take their position and act, and the requisite majority is secured? for they but represent a feeling that generally prevails.

An illustration in point comes from a correspondent who writes:—

"In conversation with a number of persons a few days ago I stated our views in regard to the Sunday movement, whereupon all ridiculed the idea of such a thing in a country of liberty,

Ex-Senator J. W. Bailey, of Texas

"I am not disposed to allow any class to come and ask for a law that interferes with some man who wants to pursue his calling, simply because some other man does not want to pursue it."—*Senator Bailey speaking on the Johnston Sunday Bill, Congressional Record, Jan. 26, 1910.*

making mention of railroads, amusements, etc. But scarcely five minutes had elapsed when all said that they thought such a law ought to be passed, and signified their willingness to vote for it!"

Many have been waiting with no little interest to hear Catholics speak on this question, querying what position they would assume. An incident which occurred in the summer of 1880, plainly foreshadows their policy in this matter. Sentiments expressed as long ago as 1880, are as good as any, according to the old adage that "the Catholic Church never changes." At the time referred to, S. V. Ryan, the Catholic bishop of Buffalo, N. Y., issued a circular denouncing the profanation of the first day of the week, and declaring that none would be recognized as Catholics who would not strictly observe the Lord's day. He urged his plea solely on the authority of the church, claiming, truly, that the day was wholly an institution of the church. Notwithstanding this, the *Christian World* hastened to welcome this new ally of the Sunday cause. Publishing the remarkable document, which appeals to the "Blessed Mother" as witness to its truth, the *World* urges the

consideration and preservation of the circular, and says:—

"It would certainly furnish great ground of gratitude to every truly pious heart, if we might count upon the Roman Catholic ministers of religion as faithful allies in the struggle."

In reference to the Catholic claim that the Sunday institution rests wholly upon the authority of the church, the *World* says:—

"The historical statement with regard to the position of the Roman Catholic Church on the question of the Lord's day is, unfortunately, far from correct. . . . And yet we prefer to waive an inquiry into the truth or falsity of Bishop Ryan's claims, and to congratulate our Roman Catholic citizens and ourselves on the position which some, at least, of the prelates of this church in this country are disposed to assume."

Is it not marvelous that a religious journal, professing to be a defender of the truth, should take such a position as this? Here is an assertion put forth by the great Roman Catholic hierarchy that Sunday is an institution of their church,— and Protestants are challenged to meet it,— an assertion which, if true, nullifies every claim of the first-day sabbath to divine support, takes out from under it every prop which a true Protestant would depend upon to sustain it, and makes it simply a human institution, not binding in any degree upon the consciences of men. In the face of such an assertion the first question to be settled is, Is this claim true or false? But this Protestant writer proposed to waive all inquiry into the matter, virtually saying, We care not whether the claim is true or false, nor what the origin of the institution is, nor upon what authority it rests, if only we can have your assistance in trying to carry our point, and enforce it upon the people. Can any one suppose that the fear of God, and the love of the truth for the truth's sake, constitute the motive for such a course of action?

In this connection a reference to the change of attitude

on the part of Protestantism toward Catholicism will not be considered wholly a digression from the main argument; for this movement has a significant bearing on the question before us. The "image," as elsewhere emphasized in this work, is to be made *to* the power which symbolizes Romanism. This would indicate cordial friendliness toward, and a certain degree of deference to, Catholicism on the part of the image-making power, which we have shown to be Protestantism. And this friendliness of feeling on the part of Protestants is even now prominently manifested in some quarters. The rapid growth of Catholic power and influence in this country has already been described in a previous chapter. See pp. 152-183. The time was, and has been all along until within a few years, when Protestants were Protestants indeed, protesting against the errors and abuses of the Roman Catholic Church. But there seems to be now a wide-spread inclination to stretch their hands across the chasm which has divided them, and welcome the Catholic Church to union and fellowship, not because the Catholics have reformed in any of the objectionable features of their system, but because Protestants are seemingly becoming very indifferent to them. How else can we account for that remarkable scene which took place in Westminster Abbey, when in that professedly Protestant sanctuary, a procession of five hundred Catholics were admitted to kneel at the shrine of Edward the Confessor, and pray — for what? For the success and good of Protestantism?— No; but for the conversion of England to the Roman Catholic faith! This is not mere toleration; it is surrender. Imagine a Roman Catholic cathedral opened for a company of Protestants to come in and pray for the conversion of Catholics to the Protestant faith!

Certain Protestants in this country seem inclined to in-

clude all in one church, calling themselves "the Protestant branch of the great Catholic Church." But do Catholics propose to make any concessions, and meet Protestants halfway in these fraternal movements?— Not at all. Do Catholics ever speak of the Protestant branch of the Catholic Church? No; they will only speak of them as separated and erring children. Protestants may go the whole way in the disgraceful surrender of principles which have cost the struggles of three hundred years; and then perhaps the Catholic Church will receive them back into her bosom as erring, repentant children. But the Catholic Church is the same to-day. It makes its boast that it never changes. Once let it gain supreme control in this country, and how soon would every Protestant place of worship in the land be sealed up as silent as a tomb, and every Bible be banished, not from the schools alone, but from the homes and hands of the people, and rigid conformity to the Catholic ritual alone be enforced by sword and flame, cord and dungeon. To flatter ourselves that the bloody scenes of the Dark Ages were owing to the spirit of the age, and not the spirit of the church, and could not be repeated under Romish rule, is to be not only wilfully but criminally blind. And to see Protestants shutting their eyes to these facts, and virtually accepting the preposterous pretensions of Catholicism, is astonishing indeed.

These movements on the part of Protestants toward fraternity with Catholics, are very significant in view of the agitation of the Sunday question, which is becoming so prominent in the land. The Sunday rest day, being a papal institution, will naturally claim the support of the Catholics. And in this thing, Protestants who are seeking a Sunday law will gladly welcome them as allies; and who then can for a moment doubt the ability of these two churches, the Prot-

Senator Borah, of Idaho

"Back of the rule of the majority is the principle of equality, the basic, bed-rock principle of free government. The difference between the old democracies or republics, which perished, and ours, is that the ancient republics could devise no way by which to shield the rights of the minority."—*From speech by Senator Borah, reported in Congressional Record, Aug. 10 1911.*

estant and the Catholic, to carry any measures upon which they may unite?

With the anti-Sunday movements of the present day, considering their associations, and the manner and object in and for which they are carried forward, we have little sympathy. We sympathize with anti-Sunday movements only on the ground that Sunday is a false sabbath which is usurping the place of the true. But Sunday opposers generally aim at utter no-Sabbathism, freedom from all moral restraint, and an open door to all the evils of unbridled intemperance,— ends which we abhor with all the strength of a moral nature quickened by the most intense religious convictions. And while the indignation of the better portion of the community will be aroused at the want of religious principle and the immorality attending the popular anti-Sunday movements, a little lack of discrimination, by no means uncommon, will, on account of our opposition to the Sunday institution, though we oppose it on entirely dif-

ferent ground, easily associate us with the classes above mentioned, and subject us to the same opprobrium.

We therefore here take occasion to put on record a few words defining more fully our position. We wish it to be understood that we are in the most complete accord and the fullest sympathy with all reforms which tend to restrain immorality and conduce to the well-being of society. We bid all temperance reformers Godspeed in their noble efforts. We wish all success to the great work of rescuing men from the evils of intemperance. We wish all crippling, blighting, and paralyzing influences to fall upon the vile traffic in intoxicating liquors, above and below, east, west, north, and south, always and everywhere. We would restrain it, not only on Sunday, but on every day of the week.

So, too, we are in favor of a divorce reform, prison reforms, all sanitary reforms, labor reform as against the encroachments of monopolies, reforms to restrain vivisection, and cruelty to children and to animals, and to prevent the circulation of vile, blasphemous, or obscene matter through the mails. We wish the latter reform might be extended also to include the publication and circulation, in any manner, of the dime novel curse and abomination. Let the law which is designed to be a safeguard to society, take hold of all these things, we care not how extensively and rigidly.

But with these things our friends are unfortunately connecting another enterprise as a reform, which lacks the true basis of all reforms; namely, the divine sanction. They labor to secure the enforcement by law of a day as the Sabbath which the Scriptures nowhere declare to be the Sabbath, in opposition to the day which they do explicitly declare to be the Sabbath. Now we believe in Sabbath reform; but we say, Let us take the day which the Scriptures everywhere set forth as the divinely appointed day of rest, and secure

its observance by moral suasion under the sanctions of divine law.

Let it be understood further that we take no exception to laws in behalf of those who conscientiously deem it their duty to observe any day as a day of rest, so far as to secure them from any real disturbance and molestation on such days. It would not be religious liberty, for which we plead, to disturb any one in his day of rest.

If people wish to observe Sunday, let them then be protected from anything which would really interfere with such observance. But we say that those who have conscientiously observed another day as the Sabbath, should not be compelled to keep Sunday also because some one else thinks that day is the Sabbath, any more than the Sunday-keeper should be compelled to keep the seventh day, because that day is considered by some to be the Sabbath. All men should stand equal before the law. To deny this equality is to break down the safeguards of religious liberty in this country. Here is the danger; and this is the ground of our protest.

Meanwhile, some see the evils involved in this movement, and raise the note of alarm. The Janesville (Wis.) *Gazette,* at the close of an article on the proposed amendment, speaks thus of the effect of the movement, should it succeed:—

"But, independent of the question as to what extent we are a Christian nation, it may well be doubted whether, if the gentlemen who are agitating this question should succeed, they would not do society a very great injury. Such measures are but the initiatory steps which ultimately lead to *restrictions of religious freedom,* and commit the government to measures which are as foreign to its powers and purposes as would be its action if it should undertake to determine a disputed question of theology."

The Champlain *Journal,* speaking of incorporating the religious principle into the Constitution, and its effect upon the Jews, said:—

"However slight, it is the entering wedge of church and state. If we may cut off ever so few persons from the right of citizenship on account of difference of religious belief, then with equal justice and propriety may a majority at any time dictate the adoption of still further articles of belief, until our Constitution is but the text-book of a sect beneath whose tyrannical sway *all liberty of religious opinion will be crushed.*"

Meanwhile the movement assumes a very harmless and professedly innocent attitude. What hurt can it do, it is asked, just to recognize God in the Constitution? Who could object just to the mention of the Supreme Being and of Christ in our great national charter? We have such recognition now, they plead, in most of our State constitutions, and it does not seem to work any mischief; why not then put it into the national Constitution?

Thus the advocates of the religious amendment are wont to reason, or at least thus they seem pleased to have other people reason, with the hope, very apparently, that they will act from that standpoint, and thus the more readily give support to their movement.

The object sought is thus put in a light which seems, at first view, very innocent and unobjectionable. But let us look at it a little more closely, and see if the most virulent kind of sophistry is not involved therein. If the simple insertion of the names of God and Christ somewhere in the Constitution is all that is designed, we inquire how that can be a matter of such importance as to warrant such a movement as is now on foot in its behalf — the organization of an association, the issuing of books and tracts, the publication of weekly papers, the calling of conventions, the employing of men to devote the whole or a part of their time to its promulgation, and the pouring out of liberal contributions of money in its support? All this shows upon the very face of it that there is something more in view than the mere mention of God in the Constitution.

Senator John Sharp Williams, of Mississippi

"I am not one of those who believe that tyranny is a particle sweeter because it is the tyranny of the majority. I believe, with old Roger Williams, that there are two classes of things in this world,—the things of the first table and the things of the second table. The things of the first table are those things which are between God and the individual man, and the government has no right to touch them. If 99,900,000 of the people out of 100,000,000 wanted to do anything in connection with them and one man stood up in his right and said 'No,' then that one man's voice should restrain all the rest. Among these things are freedom of religion. . . . The people [of the United States] have voluntarily put upon themselves restrictions with reference to that matter. They have never established the Christian religion as the religion of their country. They had the power to do it. They had the power to refuse to restrict themselves from doing it. But they decreed that for all time there should never be among us an establishment of religion. They were wise enough to know that men always, everywhere, have weaknesses."—*Speech of Senator Williams, reported in Congressional Record, Jan. 30, 1913, p. 2276.*

But further, if God in already recognized in most of the State constitutions, as they acknowledge is the case, why is not that sufficient? Is he not acknowledged by all the States, and thus, so far as constitutional action can go, by all the people of those States? What is to be gained, then, by putting his name into the Constitution of the nation?

This brings us to the real issue. They desire not simply the name of God in the Constitution, but "such an amendment as shall place all the Christian laws, institutions, and usages of the government on an undeniable *legal basis* in the fundamental law of the *land.*" They want this because, as the case now stands, if attempt is made through any State laws to enforce religious enactments, appeal can be taken to

the higher court, and such efforts can be shown to be unconstitutional. It is just because the recognition of God in the State constitutions is thus liable to be rendered inoperative, because religious enactments under State laws are virtually null and void, that they want to get a sure foothold in the national Constitution, the highest source of authority in the land. And then our whole relation to religious matters would very speedily assume a different complexion; for they desire such an arrangement as will coerce men into compliance with what the majority shall decide to be religious customs. For instance, they declare — and for this we have their own explicit language — that, this amendment once secured, no one who does not strictly observe the first day of the week as the Sabbath shall hold any public office under this government; and that any corporation which will not thus regard it shall immediately forfeit its charter!

Now look at the method of reasoning they condescend to adopt in this matter: God is recognized in State constitutions, and no mischief comes of it; therefore no man should be afraid to have him recognized in the national Constitution. But why does no mischief come of his recognition by State constitutions?— Because such recognition not existing in the national Constitution, the recognition by the State can not be used to enforce religious tests in national affairs. And what do they intend to gain by such recognition in the national Constitution? *Answer:* To put matters in such a shape that religious tests *can* be enforced. But this would at once reverse the situation, and transform all their reasoning into a falsehood and a snare. If such enforcement as they are laboring for could now be had by the recognition of religious customs by the State constitutions, no one could say that no mischief came of it; and if these men could do under State constitutions what they desire to do, they would

seek for no amendment of the general Constitution. But now they appeal to the harmless nature of State constitutions on points where they are inoperative, to quiet men's fears and lead them to amend the national Constitution in such a manner as will make the State enactments operative, where they are not now, and thus change the whole complexion of their action. In other words, their reasoning is virtually this: Because a tiger caged can do no harm, therefore we need not fear to take such action as will uncage him, and let him loose upon the community; and it is our duty so to do.

Is such reasoning fair and honest? Is it not rather the wickedest kind of sophistry? Their only chance of success in such reasoning is that people preoccupied with other things will not stop to consider the movement sufficiently to see its true intent.

Another argument used by the advocates of the amendment against our government as now constituted, must be abhorrent to every unvitiated American patriot. It is that the doctrine that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, is a false principle. At the Cleveland (Ohio) convention of the National Reform Association, one of the speakers attacked the statement as found in our Declaration of Independence, and which lies at the very foundation of our national polity, that governments "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and with a bitterness which was truly surprising, denounced it as "the old Philadelphia lie." In defense of his position, he rung the changes on such questions as these: How could a past generation "consent" for the present? And how many of those now living under this government have actually "consented" to it? How do minors "consent" to it? And what criminal would "consent" to the government?

Such sophistry is well answered by Jos. P. Thompson, D. D., LL. D., in a lecture on the "Doctrine of the Declaration of Independence," in which he says:—

"'Where,' asks Mr. Jefferson, 'shall we find the origin of *just* powers, if not in the majority of society? Will it be in the minority? or in an individual of that minority?' This is the key to the statement of the Declaration, that governments 'derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.' He was not thinking of a poll of equal rights, that each individual as an 'inalienable' voter might 'consent' to be governed thus or so, but of the community, the political society, in some method of its own, framing, commissioning, or consenting to the government under which it should live; and in this view of its meaning, this statement of the Declaration, like those that precede it, is also true, and of deep and far-reaching significance for governments and for mankind."

He then draws from the history of both England and France, facts in confirmation of this view, and adds:—

"The attachment of a people to their government may be variable; their sentiment toward officers and policy may change with men and measures; their loyalty may be that of enthusiastic devotion, of calm acquiescence, or of patient endurance; but there inheres in every body politic a latent right of revolution; and, so long as the people do not revive this right, the government *de facto* is presumed to hold its powers with 'the consent of the governed.'"— *The United States as a Nation, pp. 82-84.*

The idea expressed by the Cleveland speaker was that all government being derived from God, its requirements were to be made known by properly constituted agents, and all that the governed had to do was to quietly submit; their "consent" was not to be taken into the account at all. Had this man been arguing, under some benighted tyranny, for the "divine right of kings," instead of standing amid the manifold blessings and privileges secured by this republic, and denouncing the principles of its Constitution, after more

Ex-President Theodore Roosevelt

"Discrimination against the holder of one faith means retaliatory discrimination against men of other faiths. The inevitable result of entering upon such a practise would be an abandonment of our real freedom of conscience and a reversion to the dreadful conditions of religious dissensions which in so many lands have proved fatal to true liberty, to true religion, and to all advance in civilization.

"To discriminate against a thoroughly upright citizen because he belongs to some particular church, or because, like Abraham Lincoln, he has not avowed his allegiance to any church, is an outrage against the liberty of conscience, which is one of the foundations of American life."—*Roosevelt's letter on religious liberty.*

than one hundred years of such uniform and unbounded prosperity as no other nation of the earth had ever enjoyed, his statements would not have seemed quite so astounding.

It may still be asked, Has not the state the right to make a law that one day in the week shall be kept as a day of rest? and would it not be the duty of all citizens to obey such a law, when made? *Answer:* The state has a right to legislate in reference to all the relations that exist between man and man, to protect and secure the just rights of each. It has a right, therefore, to legislate in regard to such crimes against society as Mormon polygamy, though practised under the name of religion, against intemperance, and against some forms of worship which pagans, under the sanction of their religion, might introduce upon our shores. But in matters purely religious, matters of conscience between man and

his Maker, which in no wise encroach upon the rights of others, the state *has no right to interfere.*

But in the matter of the Sabbath, God himself has already promulgated a law; and certainly the state has no right to interfere with that.

There is one remarkable fact to be noticed in all this agitation; namely, however much a day of rest may be urged as a "civil institution," a "police regulation," etc., as if it were not a religious matter, the day selected for the rest day is always *Sunday.* Why is this? Will any one be willing to confess himself so obtuse as not to know that it is because the majority regard Sunday, in a religious sense, as the Sabbath? And this at once discriminates against those who observe the seventh day, inasmuch as, being obliged to keep another day also, they are deprived of one-sixth of their time, and, if laboring men, of one-sixth of their means of support, on account solely of the *religious* prejudices of other people. This strikes at the very root of religious liberty.

If any deny this, and insist that the object is to be absolutely impartial and fair, the matter can be tested by the following proposition: Let some day be selected as the state rest day, which neither party regards as the Sabbath by divine appointment. Take for instance Tuesday. Now we, having kept the seventh day, could keep Tuesday on the same ground that the Sunday-keeper, having observed the first day, could keep Tuesday also. Here would be equality, one class not being discriminated against more than another. But how many Sunday-keepers would agree to this? They would say, Having kept Sunday, what is the use of our keeping Tuesday? Exactly. And so we say, After having kept the seventh day, what is the use of our keeping the first day?

If any are still disposed to query why we should object to a general Sunday law, we reply further that the matter of

Sabbath-keeping is a matter between the individual conscience and God alone. It is a religious service, and with it as such the state has nothing to do. It matters not whether the Sabbath in question is the true Sabbath or a false one. Civil law should not meddle with either. We would oppose human legislation for the one as soon as for the other; legislation in favor of the seventh day, as soon as legislation for the first day.

But, it may be asked, is it not right to enact laws for the good of society? and would it not be for the good of society to have all observe a Sabbath? This looks very specious at first sight; but an important distinction should be kept in mind: God has some ordinances for the good of society, the control of which he reserves to himself, and which, so long as they are left in that control, and legitimately used, are for the good of society, but which, if man, with his lack of spiritual discernment and his bondage to prejudice and passion, attempts to intermeddle with, tend to the injury and not the good of society. For instance: God commands all men to repent, believe, and be baptized; in other words to become earnest and sincere Christians, unite with the church, and practise all its ordinances; and it would be for the good of society if all, under the operation of the Spirit of God, would do this. But let men undertake to *enforce* this by law, and what would be the result?— The church would be turned into a whited sepulcher, another religious tyranny to curse the world. So if all men would obey God in the matter of Sabbath-keeping from a conscientious conviction of duty, it would be for the good of society; but men can not enforce such service by law for the good of society.

But it may be asked, Would you object to the law if an exemption was made in your behalf?— If an exemption should be made, it might be best to avail ourselves of its

benefit; but that would not change the nature of the law, which is wrong in principle, nor secure our support of it; for we ought to have regard to others' rights as well as our own; and no man should be *compelled* to keep *Sunday* or *any other day,* if he does not wish to, whether he has kept the seventh day or not.

For a union of church and state, in the strict medieval form and sense, we do not look. In place of this, we apprehend that what is called "the image," a creation as strange as it is unique, comes in, not as a state church, supported by the government, and the church in turn controlling the state, but as an *ecclesiastical establishment* empowered by the state to enforce its own decrees by civil penalties; which, in all its practical bearings, will amount to exactly the same thing.

Some one may now say, As you expect this movement to carry, you must look for a period of religious persecution in this country.

Yes, such a period of persecution we look for, for the reason that we believe the prophecy points it out, and that the principles and influences already herein mentioned, indicate that movements are plainly and powerfully working to that end; but more than this, we regard what has already taken place as but the preliminary workings of just such a period, as will hereafter appear. Nay, more, it is claimed, you must take the position that all the saints of God are to be put to death; for the image is to cause that all who will not worship it shall be killed.

There would, perhaps, be some ground for such a conclusion, were we not elsewhere informed that in the dire conflict God does not abandon his people to defeat, but grants them a complete victory over the beast, his image, his mark, and the number of his name. Rev. 15: 2. We further read respecting this earthly power, that he causeth all to receive a

illiam Jennings Bryan

if was not willing to use coercion to force ertain religious views, man, uninspired and ught not to use the means that Jehovah y."—W. J. Bryan, in introduction to "The mas Jefferson."

mark in their right hand or in their foreheads; yet chapter 20, verse 4, speaks of the people of God as those who do *not* receive the mark, nor worship the image. If, then, he could "cause" all to receive the mark, and yet all not actually receive it, in like manner his causing all to be put to death who will not worship the image does not necessarily signify that their lives are actually to be taken.

But how can this be? *Answer:* It evidently comes under that rule of interpretation in accordance with bs of action sometimes signify merely the *will* and to do the action in question, and not the actual per- of the thing specified. The late George Bush, of Hebrew and Oriental Literature in New York versity, makes this matter plain. In his notes on , he says:—

a canon of interpretation of frequent use in the ex- f the Sacred Writings that verbs of action sometimes erely the *will* and *endeavor* to do the action in ques- us in Eze. 24:13: 'I have *purified* thee, and thou wast

not purged;' *i. e.*, I have endeavored, used means, been at pains, to purify thee. John 5:44: 'How can ye believe which *receive* honor one of another?' *i. e.*, endeavor to receive. Rom. 2:4: 'The goodness of God *leadeth* thee to repentance;' *i. e.*, endeavors, or tends, to lead thee. Amos 9:3: 'Though they be *hid* from my sight in the bottom of the sea; *i. e.*, though they aim to be hid. 1 Cor. 10:33: 'I *please* all men;' *i. e.*, endeavor to please. Gal. 5:4: 'Whoever of you are *justified* by the law;' *i. e.*, seek and endeavor to be justified. Ps. 69:4: 'They that *destroy* me are mighty;' *i. e.*, that endeavor to destroy me. Eng., 'That *would* destroy me.' Acts 7:26: 'And *set them at one* again;' *i. e.*, wished and endeavored. Eng., '*Would* have set them.'"

So in the passage before us he *causes* all to receive a mark, and all who will not worship the image to be killed; that is, he *wills, purposes,* and *endeavors,* to do this. He makes such an enactment, passes such a law, but is not able to execute it; for God interposes in behalf of his people; and then those who have kept the word of Christ's patience are kept from falling in this hour of temptation, according to Rev. 3:10; then those who have made God their refuge are kept from all evil, and no plague comes nigh their dwelling, according to Ps. 91:9, 10; then all who are found written in the book are delivered, according to Dan. 12:1; and being victors over the beast and his image, they are redeemed from among men, and raise a song of triumph before the throne of God, according to Rev. 14:4; 15:2.

The objector may further say, You are altogether too credulous in supposing that all the skeptics of our land, the Spiritualists, the German infidels, and the irreligious masses generally, can be so far brought to favor the religious observance of Sunday that a general law can be promulgated in its behalf.

The answer is, the prophecy must be fulfilled, and if the prophecy requires such a revolution, it will be accomplished. But we do not know that it is necessary that what the ob-

jector states shall be brought about. Permit the suggestion of an idea which, though it is only conjecture, may show how enough can be done to fulfil the prophecy without involving the classes mentioned. This movement, as has been shown, must originate with the churches of our land, and be carried forward by them. They wish to enforce certain practises upon all the people; and it would be natural that in reference to those points respecting which they wish to influence the outside masses, they should see the necessity of first having absolute conformity among all the evangelical denominations. Church-members could not expect to influence non-religionists to any great degree on questions respecting which they were divided among themselves. So, then, let union be had on those views and practises which the great majority already entertain. To this end, coercion may first be attempted. But here are a few who can not possibly attach to the observance of the first day, which the majority wish to secure, any religious obligation; and would it be anything strange for the sentence to be given, Let these few factionists be made to conform, by persuasion, if possible, by force, if necessary? Thus the blow may fall on conscientious commandment-keepers before the outside masses are involved in the issue at all. And should events take this not improbable turn, it would be sufficient to meet the prophecy, and leave no ground for the objection proposed.

To receive the mark of the beast in the forehead, is, we understand, to give the assent of the mind and judgment to his authority in the adoption of that institution which constitutes the mark. By parity of reasoning, to receive it in the hand would be to signify allegiance by some outward act, perhaps by signifying a willingness to abstain from labor — the work of their hands — on that day, though not indorsing its religious character.

The number, over which the saints are to get the victory, is the number of the papal beast, called also the number of his name, and the number of a man, and is said to be six hundred three score and six. Rev. 13:18. Where is that number to be found? The pope claims to be the vicegerent of the Son of God. This title is expressed by the Latin words, *"Vicarius Filii Dei,"* the numerical value of which words is just six hundred and sixty-six. Thus V stands for 5; I, 1; C, 100; a and r, not used as numerals; I, 1; U, anciently written as V[1] and standing for 5; s and f, not used as numerals; I, 1; L, 50; I, 1; I, 1; D, 500; e, not used as a numeral; I, 1. Tabulating this, we have the following:—

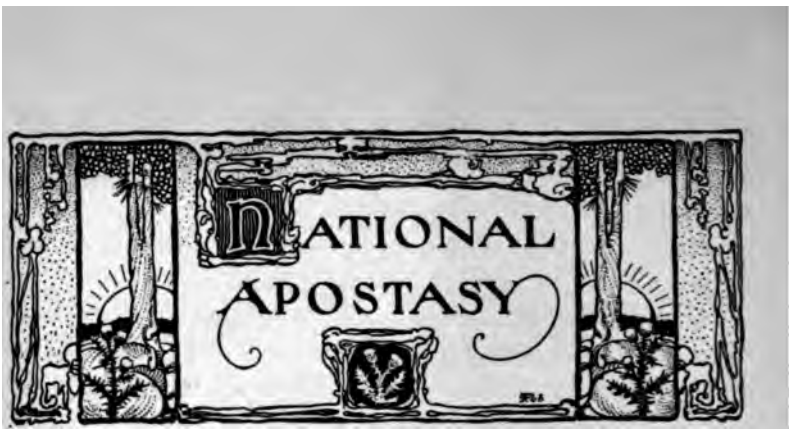
V	= 5
I	= 1
C	=100
I	= 1
U(V)	= 5
I	= 1
L	= 50
I	= 1
I	= 1
D	=500
I	= 1
	666

The most plausible supposition we have seen on this question is that in this name we find the number sought for. It is the number of the beast, the papacy; it is the number of his name, for he adopts it as his distinctive title; it is the number of a man, for he who bears it is the "man of sin." We get the victory over it by refusing to regard those institutions and practises which he sets forth as evidence of his

[1]For proof that the modern "U" anciently had the same form as "V," see Century Dictionary, under the letter "U;" also facsimiles of ancient inscriptions, mottoes on coins, etc.

power to sit supreme in the temple of God, and by adopting which we should acknowledge the validity of his title, by conceding his right to act for the church in behalf of the Son of God.

Here will come the final conflict, into which all will be drawn, upon the one side or the other. There will be no middle ground. This will be "the hour of temptation," or trial, which is to come as a final test upon all the world. Rev. 3:10. "If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured out without mixture into the cup of his indignation." Rev. 14:9, 10. But those who get the victory over the beast and over his image, and his mark, are next seen standing triumphant upon the sea of glass before the throne of God. Rev. 15:2.



CHAPTER XV

THERE could be no union of church and state in this country so long as either the church or the state remained in the sphere ordained for it by the Creator. The sphere of the one is that of things religious; the sphere of the other is that of things civil. The church is ordained to give to the world the knowledge of God; it is the divinely-appointed channel through which the spiritual agencies of heaven operate to reach a world lost in sin and draw men to a divine Saviour. Within this sphere the motive power is faith; for "without faith it is impossible to please him [God]"; and "whatsoever is not of faith is sin." Heb. 11:6; Rom. 14:23. And faith means free will.

The state, on the other hand, is ordained, as says the Declaration of Independence, to preserve the inalienable rights which individuals have as an endowment from their Creator. The business of the state is to maintain conditions in civil society which will afford to each member of society the free enjoyment of his rights. In its sphere the motive power is not faith, but force. It does not seek to persuade, but commands; and forgiveness of offenses, which is vital to Christianity, would for the state be suicidal. The state aims at justice only. The union of the state with the church, or what is the same thing, the union of the civil power with re-

ligion, brings force into the domain of faith; it makes force and not faith the motive power in religion, and thus outrages Christianity and insults God; for "whatsoever is not of faith is sin."

If the church should apostatize from its mission and desire to join hands with the state, there could still be no union of the two if the state remained true to its mission. The state must also apostatize before it can be in a position to join hands with the church.

Has there then, we inquire, been national apostasy in the American republic? Has this nation now departed from the position it assumed before the world in justification of its separation from Great Britain? Has it repudiated the principles of the political equality of the people under it and of government by the consent of the governed?

This question must be answered in the affirmative. These principles have been repudiated both in teaching and in practise. When the Asiatic possessions of the United States were acquired by the war with Spain, government was set up over their inhabitants without their consent. The propriety of such action on the part of this government was thoroughly discussed in Congress, and the repudiation of the doctrine of government by consent of the governed was open and deliberate. Many speeches were made in Congress of a nature to cast contempt upon the Declaration of Independence. It was declared that this nation had outgrown its swaddling clothes, and could no longer be bound by such instruments as the Declaration and the Constitution. The great majority in Congress went over to this view of the matter, but a few, prominent among whom was Senator Hoar of Massachusetts, contended earnestly for the old doctrines whose fundamental importance in American republican government had hitherto been unquestioned.

Senator Platt, of Connecticut

In place of the doctrine set forth in the Declaration of Independence, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, there has now been substituted the doctrine that governments derive their just powers from the consent of *some* of the governed. We have but to quote from the speeches that were made when the subject of the government of the nation's Asiatic possessions was under discussion on the floor of Congress, to show that the doctrine of government by consent of the governed has been repudiated in explicit terms. Note the following which we take from the *Congressional Record* of Dec. 19, 1898, p. 330:—

"Mr. Hoar,—'May I ask the senator from Connecticut a question?'

"Mr. Platt, of Connecticut,—'Certainly.'

"Mr. Hoar,—'It is whether, in his opinion, governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed?'

"Mr. Platt, of Connecticut,—'From the consent of some of the governed?'

"Mr. Hoar,—'From the consent of some of the governed?'

"Mr. Platt, of Connecticut,—'Yes.'"

The doctrine thus enunciated by Senator Platt of Connecticut received the support of the great majority of the Senate, and appears to have encountered still less opposition in the

House. The application of this doctrine in the government of the nation's dependencies, which was made not long afterwards, showed that it was meant to sanction government so remote in character from that based on the Constitution of the United States, that not even the consent of "some" of the governed would be deemed essential in its administration.

Senator Hoar, of Massachusetts

It is true of course that one class of people may not be as well able to govern themselves as another class are, and that some people may be in many ways better off for being governed without their consent. Doubtless the natives of the Philippines enjoy many more advantages to-day while being treated as dependencies than they would have under independent government It is also true that a government which is despotic in form may be mild and benevolent in practise because of the character of those who administer it. For example, Julius Cæsar, who changed the Roman republic to a monarchy, was a mild ruler, being in fact the idol of the common people. But a government which is despotic in form permits of despotism in practise if selfish and unprincipled men happen to be in the positions of power; and the only sure safeguard against such despotism is to establish and

maintain the principle of government by consent of the governed.

Let the reader bear in mind that the purpose of constitutional government is to prevent the exercise of arbitrary power and authority in government by individuals. When an individual, such as a king or czar, governs a country in whatever way he may see fit, or when a coterie of influential persons do this in the name of the sovereign, it is a government of (or by) *persons*. When a country, on the other hand, is governed in accordance with a constitution which the officials administering the government are sworn to maintain, it is a government of (or by) *laws*. The despotisms of the Old World were governments of persons. The granting of Magna Charta by King John of England meant that the barons had forced him to grant a government of laws in place of a government of persons. The founders of the American republic established constitutional government in this country and carefully provided in the Constitution against any arbitrary exercise of governmental power. Any one at all familiar with the provisions of the Constitution will recognize at once the difference between a government like that of the United States, which separates the legislative, executive, and judicial departments from each other and sets bounds about each one; and a government where one person combines in himself all departments of the government, the powers of which are to be exercised as he may see fit to direct.

Thus the principle of government by consent of the governed has been expressly repudiated by this nation, though not as yet with reference to the people of this nation. But having abandoned the principle in the government of its colonies, how long is the nation likely to maintain it at home? For if it be true that governments derive their just powers

from the consent of *some* of the governed, it is no less true in the United States than it is in any other land. Government by the consent of "some" of the governed means the government of one class of the people by another class, and this is no new issue in the United States. For, unfortunately, there are classes, and class antagonism, in this country. The question whether the government shall be administered for the benefit of all the people alike, or in the interests of a favored class at the expense of the rest, has become, indeed, almost the dominant political issue at this time.

We have but to point to recent occurrences in the mining districts of West Virginia, Colorado, and Idaho to find concrete illustrations of the tendency in our own country to set aside the provisions of government by consent of the governed. When an armored car is sent along a railway through a mining village and from it bullets are fired into homes containing women and children, who are thereby exposed to injury and death, as was done in West Virginia during a coal miners' strike, it is evident that there is in that community a government of one class of the people by another class, and not a government that rests upon the consent of all classes. There is a growing tendency on the part of capitalists having property that may be endangered during a strike, to influence the government to call out the military forces of the State and establish martial law, making the civil authority subservient to military power. Commenting on the situation, Judge Edgar M. Cullen, retired Chief Justice of the Court of Appeals of the State of New York, said in an address before the New York State Bar Association (see New York *Times* of Feb. 8, 1914):—

"Unless I am utterly mistaken, there is now a strong tendency in courts, in legislatures, and worst of all, in the people themselves, to disregard the most fundamental principles of

personal rights. Judicial decisions are made, statutes are enacted, and doctrines are publicly advocated which, when I was young, would have shocked our people to the last degree. In those days liberty was deemed to be the right of the citizen, to act and live as he thought best so long as his conduct did not invade a like right on the part of others. To-day, according to the notion of many if not most people, liberty is the right of part of the people to compel the other part to do what the first part thinks the latter ought to do for its own benefit."

After referring to the situation in the mining regions of West Virginia in 1912, when the governor suspended the writ of habeas corpus, contrary to the Constitution of the United States, and citizens of the State were imprisoned by a military tribunal while the civil courts were in operation, which action was confirmed by the State Supreme Court, Judge Cullen added:—

"If it be true that in this country order can not be maintained and the law enforced by the civil authorities, but we must constantly resort to military force, our boast of freedom is but idle, and at least, we should refrain from the expressions of indignation in which we have recently been indulging at the invasion of the rights of civilians by the army in Germany."

The principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence have stood as the bulwark of individual rights. It has hitherto been accepted in this country as a self-evident truth, that each individual is possessed of certain inalienable rights of which he could not by any human power be rightfully deprived, save as he may forfeit them by criminal conduct. This is the principle of individualism, which has hitherto been fundamental in the American system of government. Opposed to this is the much-advocated doctrine that individual rights may properly be sacrificed to secure "the greatest good to the greatest number." When religious bigotry would seek under cover of religious legislation to deprive an individual of the inalienable right to worship God according to the dic-

tates of his conscience, he could appeal to the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the national Constitution, which is recognized as the highest law in the land. But with the abandonment of the doctrine of inalienable rights, this bulwark of individual liberty is swept away. If an individual has no inalienable rights which the government is bound to respect and maintain, then it is idle to appeal to the government in support of an inalienable right to worship God as conscience may direct, and no refuge is left against coercion by the religious majority, when the latter enact religious laws for the alleged salvation of the country.

The men who founded this nation, and the principles laid by them in its foundation, were a bequest from the Reformation. This government is a Protestant government in the sense that it is founded upon the Protestant principle of the separation of church and state. And, as before stated, so long as both church and state adhered to that Protestant principle, or even so long as either one adhered to it, no union of church and state could be formed; for the consent of both parties to the compact would be necessary. The church, as noted elsewhere, has been first in apostasy from this principle of Protestantism. She has not only signified her consent to, but has even clamored for, a union with the state to uphold a religious observance which she could not maintain upon Scriptural authority. And now the state, by repudiating the principle of government by consent of the governed, has removed the chief barrier in the way of such an agreement on its part. It likewise has apostatized from the principles of Protestantism; and now, upon this platform of apostasy, the two stand ready to join hands.

That the United States has entered upon a new political pathway and is leaving old governmental landmarks behind,

has been recognized by many both in this country and in Europe. Under the heading, "New National Destiny," the Washington correspondent of the Chicago *Times-Herald* wrote:—

"By one of the accidents with which all history is strewn, the American people have a new destiny opened before them. One need not be for or against a policy of colonial expansion to recognize the fact that the nation is at the parting of the ways; nor should one be blind to the wonderful possibilities and the grave responsibilities presented to the United States for its choosing; but a calm survey of the field from Washington is calculated to convince one that there has been a remarkable transformation in the American habit of thought. It has been revolutionized, apparently, within a few weeks. The change is reflected in Congress, for the representatives of the people are quick to catch the public pulse."—*Review and Herald, July 19, 1898.*

Ex-Attorney-General Harmon, in a speech to the Ohio Bar Association, at Put-in-Bay, Ohio, July 12, 1898, said:—

"We should have to change both the name and the nature of our nation to admit any State out of America, especially if it be populated by alien races. Few if any are now bold enough to advocate this. To get dominion over strange peoples for the mere purpose of governing them, not admitting them as equals in the family of States, stretching into permanency for that purpose a power meant to be temporary and occasional only, and for that reason left unrestricted, is rightfully called an imperial policy. It would belie and discredit the Declaration of Independence and convict us of hypocrisy. We can not, under our system, govern any people without letting them help govern us. The reaction would be swift and sure. We should see what Patrick Henry meant when he said, in his famous resolutions of 1765, that such government of the colonies by Great Britain 'has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom.'

"An imperial policy will surely some day lead to an emperor. He may assume some softer name if our sensitiveness survive, as is often the case. But an imperial policy and a

Photo by Harris & Ewing

republic make a contradiction in terms. The policy must go, or the emperor in some new form must come."

The following appeared in the *Review and Herald* (Washington, D. C.) of July 14, 1904:—

"Speaking at a dinner of the Harvard Law School Association recently, Ex-Secretary of State Richard Olney set forth a number of questions the earnest consideration of which by the lawyers of this day is, he said, imperatively needed. These questions relate to the governmental policy of the nation, in which the speaker saw a great departure from the pathway in which the nation has attained to its present position among the world powers.

"Where in the national Constitution, Mr. Olney inquired, is to be found the principle of altruism. Where is to be found in it 'any authority for purely philanthropic enterprises — any right of the government to turn itself into a missionary to the benighted tribes of islands in the South Seas, seven thousand miles from our shores, or any power to tax the toiling masses of this country for the benefit of the motley groups of the brown people of the tropics, between whom and the taxpayers there is absolutely no community either of interest or of sympathy.'

" 'Still another search is needed,' he said, 'to find in American law any right in a strong nation to appropriate the sovereignty or territory of a weak nation, either in the name of "collective civilization" or in any other name or on any pretext whatsoever. . . . It is for the men of the American bar to say whether there is a break with all our past which ought to be and is to be perpetuated; whether American principles as embodied in American constitutions and state papers, once deemed models of wisdom and inspiration to humanity the world over, are now to be relegated to the limbo of antiquated superstitions; whether the flag shall symbolize the ideas and the ideals of the great Americans who are identified with all that is glorious in our past history, or shall stand for the theories of the new guides and teachers of the present hour.' "

We have already quoted testimony showing the significance of the new governmental policy as viewed in England. Upon the lips of Frenchmen the inquiry was, "Are

the American people seeking a Napoleon?" And the following from the pen of the German Professor Niemand, quoted by the Countess Von Krockow, of Dresden, in a contribution to *The Independent* (N. Y.) of Oct. 19, 1899, shows that in the eyes of the German people it was no less plainly evident that this nation was breaking with the traditions of its past:—

"If the American republic ever meant anything historically, it meant a protest against Europe. Its Declaration of Independence was a looking backward over European conditions, and a summing up of all the experience thus won. It corresponded politically to Luther's theses; just as the one was a renunciation of Catholicism, so was the other a renunciation and defiance of imperialism. Over one hundred years it has endured.

"Europe has not changed essentially meanwhile. It has forms of liberty, but the substantial reality is still militarism, or government by authority and the might of the strongest. So if Europe be unchanged, why should America relinquish her avocation of protestation by turning round and becoming like her? . . . Oh, madness! I say, madness! They are doing they know not what,—giving up their birthright for a mess of pottage; surrendering their grand attitude of protest, wherein they commanded the respect of the powerful and the adoration of the idealists of the world, to scramble with the effete old nations for land! for land, although they already possess so much. They repudiate their Declaration in spirit and in word for a strip of rich land! The fact seems incredible."

The theory of government held by the religious party who are pushing the movement for "national reform," is that governments derive their authority not from the consent of the governed, but from the will of God. In the conventions of this party the principle of government by consent of the governed has been held up to scorn as "that old Philadelphia lie." The following quotation from an eminent representative of "national reform," expresses the attitude of that party on the subject:—

"And so to-day there are those that wave the Declaration of Independence in our faces, and tell us that the thing to do is to deliver over those islands of the Archipelago in the East to the people who are their rightful masters; for 'all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.' So wrote Thomas Jefferson. As to that hallowed document that declares that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, if that is to be literally construed, there never was a greater falsehood palmed off by the devil upon a credulous world. It is not true of the government of God."—*Dr. P. S. Henson, D. D., pastor of the leading Baptist church in Chicago, reported in Chicago Times-Herald of May 8, 1899.*

As showing the general attitude of religious teachers in this country toward this clause of the Declaration of Independence, some further testimony will be appropriate here.

In a baccalaureate address delivered at the Auditorium, Chicago, June 13, 1904, Dr. F. W. Gunsaulus, the popular preacher and orator, said:—

"There never was a more interesting falsehood than 'all men are created free and equal.' The Declaration of Independence was the work of an hour of intense excitement, and on every national anniversary this phrase is misquoted, because when it is taken from its context, it is false."

Here the Declaration of Independence is both belittled and misquoted, since it does not contain the assertion that all men are created free.

The Independent (New York) in its issue of Oct. 25, 1900, declared that the doctrine of natural rights, set forth in the Declaration of Independence as a self-evident truth, is only a "theory," and that "the revolt against it grows apace." And further, "We are hearing a great deal, these days, of the 'self-evident truth' that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. . . . This absolute generalization regarding consent . . . is likely to gasp out its last breath in the pending campaign."

The Boston *Investor's Review* said (July 28, 1900): "It is folly to assert that the policy of this country shall be governed by absurd maxims uttered more than a hundred years ago. The greatest evil which now confronts us is the clamor about the old Declaration of Independence, to the effect that all men ought to be free and equal. This is merely generalization of the doctrine of Voltaire and the Encyclopædists. It is a dictum absolutely lacking foundation in history, and incapable of syllogistic justification. It suited our purpose in 1776, when we were breaking away from the mother country; but it was only a bit of sublimated demagogism. To bring forward this Declaration in the year 1900 is as gross an absurdity as ever was practised, and an insult to the intelligence of the people."

The Des Moines (Ia.) *Globe,* (August, 1900) put forth the following:—

"For a long time thinking people who have large commercial interests have felt unsafe with our present form of government. Now is a good time to do away with our *obsolete Constitution* and adopt a form of government that will be logical, with expansion ideas, and will give ample protection to capital.

"A constitutional monarchy is probably the most desirable plan that we could adopt. Everything is ripe for the change. We take it that the great farming interests of our land will readily adapt themselves to the change. The farmer is a great lover of law and order, and antimonarchy is largely the expression of French revolutionary ideas suggested by hot-headed theorists.

"We believe that history and experience have proved beyond cavil that a republican form of government can not subsist beyond a certain stage; that as soon as a people become rich, strong and great, the republic droops and dies. We believe this is so of necessity and not by chance. . . . It would seem as if science teaches that men are created to follow their masters — the inspired minds of history. History shows that a king must be and is found in every nation to guide its people in every great crisis. Neither is the change to be dreaded or

looked forward to with forebodings. While we are in fact largely under the conditions of a monarchy, we have the evils without the benefit of the same." (Italics ours.)

Further testimony of the same character might be cited, but it is sufficient to say that there has been almost no opposition, either from religious or secular sources, to this sentiment. A quiet revolution has taken place. No longer are we fast to the old moorings. No longer do the rights of the individual stand safeguarded by the guarantees of the Declaration and the Constitution. The day of individualism is passing. The question whether an individual's rights are to be recognized in the government depends now upon the question whether he belongs to that portion of the governed from whose consent the just powers of government are now held to be derived; it is not a question of endowment by the Creator, but of favor from those in power. The rights of the individual conscience, it is now held, must not be set up against the collective conscience of the majority. First the church abandoned Protestant ground by calling for help from the state to enforce religious observances in disregard of the consciences of dissenters; next, the state abandoned Protestant ground in adopting the principle of government by consent merely of "some" of the governed, setting aside the rights of all others; and neither one is longer restrained by principle from union with the other. Meanwhile in the churches a movement of the utmost importance in this connection has come to the birth and is rapidly gaining power and influence, the purpose of which is to make such a union an accomplished fact. The significance of this movement we consider in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XVI

WE have already described the federation movement in the Catholic Church. It will be shown in this chapter that just such a movement as will correspond to the prediction made in Revelation 13 concerning the beast with the lamblike horns, has been inaugurated in the Protestant churches of this country. The leading Protestant bodies have joined hands in a great federation more extensive and powerful than any other known in recent times; and they have done this for the avowed purpose of obtaining power, by which to influence the nation politically, control elections, and shape legislation. They have sought, and obtained, not the power of godliness, not the power which operates by spiritual agencies as described in 2 Cor. 10:4, for the casting down of the strongholds of sin; but the power of numbers, the power of votes, the power of the religious majority, exercised through legislatures and courts of law. Professing to be opposed to any union of church and state, they have nevertheless sought and obtained by this means a union of religion with the state, which in its results amounts to the same thing. Thus the Protestant churches of this land are doing the very thing which the prophecy of Revelation 13 has foretold; namely, effecting a union of religion with the state similar to that which in the early centuries of the Christian era

brought about the development of the papacy; in other words, producing a likeness, or "image" of the "beast."

Let no one think that we wish to reflect in any way upon the character of the men engaged in this enterprise. They are men of the highest moral standing, sincerely solicitous for the welfare of the nation, and honestly trying to check and remove the evils which are rampant in society. And that their efforts will in many ways be productive of good, no one can doubt. We wish them all possible success in their work for the promotion of temperance, the elimination of war, the safeguarding of youth, etc. For these things all Christians are bound to work and pray. Why then are these good men misled into doing something which the Bible utters a solemn warning against? The reason is that they have turned aside from the counsel of God, given them in his Word, and are going about to establish righteousness and the kingdom of God in the earth, in their own way. They have slighted the prophetic portions of the Bible, by which one may know what stage of the conflict between the kingdoms of Christ and of Satan has been reached in his day, and how he can cooperate with the providence of God for the times in which he is living, and are out of touch with their divine Leader and with the plans by which he is to-day advancing his kingdom in the earth. They have a mistaken conception of the kingdom which is to come, and are looking for a kingdom mixed with earthly elements, and to be set up by earthly agencies, such as the ballot, legislation, education, etc. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that they should be working at cross-purposes with the providence of God. The mistake of failing to heed and be guided by the instruction of God's Word, is a fatal one; and the more zeal a church has when it is off the track and pursuing a wrong course, the greater will be the damage which it will do.

We are now to describe the steps by which this church federation movement has progressed to its present stage.

In November, 1905, there assembled in Carnegie Hall, New York City, a body of churchmen composed of delegates representing twenty-eight denominations, for the purpose of effecting a general union of the churches, so as to wield their combined power in the field of moral reforms. This conference took the name of "The Inter-Church Conference on Federation."

This movement originated in a meeting of Protestant ministers in New York City, in 1900, at which was organized the "National Federation of Churches." The first work of this organization was to form state and local federations throughout the country; next, at its annual session in 1902, held in Washington, D. C., a committee of correspondence was chosen, which sent to all the leading Protestant churches in the United States, an address on "The Cooperative Relationship of the Churches of Jesus Christ, in Christian Work." In this communication it was stated that "The National Federation of Churches and Christian Workers has for its object to promote the cooperation of churches of various communions through the formation of State and local federations, in order to secure united and effective effort in religious and moral movements vital to the welfare of churches and communities."

As illustrated by the actual work of these State and local federations, the object of the federation was the "concentration of effort for the removal of social evils, the cleansing of the centers of vice and corruption, and the promotion of temperance, Sabbath observance, and general morality." "The affiliation of the local churches," it was stated, "has often proved a beneficent moral force in the administration of civic affairs." This was set forth in the communication,

Rev. William H. Roberts, D. D., LL. D.
President Inter-Church Conference on Federation, 1905, and Chairman Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches, 1905-1912

and the following plan for furthering the movement was proposed:—

"In order to secure an effective organization of the various Protestant communions of this country for the practical ends indicated, we would suggest that a conference of representatives accredited by the national bodies of said Protestant denominations meet in New York City, November, 1905, to form such a representative organization as may seem proper to them. It is understood that its basis would not be one of creedal statement or governmental form, but of cooperative work and effort. It is also understood that the organization shall have power only to advise the constituent bodies represented.

Each denomination with a membership of five hundred thousand or more was allowed fifty delegates at the conference. Those having less than one hundred thousand membership were allowed five delegates each. About five hundred delegates came to the conference, representing, it was stated, eighteen million church communicants, and embracing the following denominations: the Baptists, the Free Baptists, the Seventh-day Baptists, the Disciples, the Congregationalists, the Episcopal Church, the M. E. Church, the M. E. Church South, the African M. E. Church, the Methodist

Protestant Church, the Presbyterian Church, the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, the United Presbyterian Church, the Reformed Presbyterian Church, the African M. E. Zion Church, the Christian Connection, the Evangelical Association, the United Evangelical Church, the Moravian Church, and others.

A communication from President Roosevelt, expressing his "very highest sympathy with the movement," was read at the opening of the conference.

In a speech of welcome on behalf of the churches of Greater New York, Dr. R. S. MacArthur (Baptist) said that the conference meant more to America and the world than any other that had ever been held.

At the second meeting of the conference, Dr. Black, of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, named the following channels into which the energies of the federation were to be directed.

1. Civic righteousness.
2. Marriage and divorce.
3. Temperance.
4. Corporation honor, wielding the influence of capital in the fear of God.
5. Prison reform.
6. Public charities.
7. To repel and repress social evils.
8. To prevent Sabbath desecration.
9. To prevent child labor.
10. To prevent international conflicts.
11. To correct the epidemic of gambling.
12. To correct amusements so they shall be in harmony with righteousness.
13. To correct the evils connected with immigration.
14. To prevent the influence of Mormonism from having

any place in the affairs or the recognition of the nation.

15. To unite all forces of the church for the accomplishment of these ends.

16. And, most of all, for the return of the Bible to the public schools. (This statement drew from the audience loud and continued applause.)

17. That we may aid in the relief of the downtrodden and the persecuted wherever they may be.

A glance at this program shows the extent to which the federation purposes to become active in the affairs of the government.

The possibility that the federation might make an unjust use of the power with which it was invested was recognized by some delegates at the conference, one of whom, Bishop Fowler (Methodist), "delivered a timely note of warning against anything tending toward centralization, or assumption of power, by this federation movement."

At a meeting of the conference devoted to a consideration of the practical workings of the federation, the following illustration was given by Dr. Neyeman, Protestant Episcopal. Where a local federation, he said, was unable to successfully stem the tide of Sabbath-breaking and other evils, a county federation became essential in order to bring pressure to bear upon county officials for the suppression of the evils aimed at. "Like circumstances require a State federation to bring to bear the pressure of the united influence of the churches of the State. This in turn suggests and grows into a national federation; and this will logically lead to international federation. The federation, local or otherwise, reports violation of laws and aids the authorities in the enforcement of law. Thus the church is able to show to the people that it is working as a whole for them, and not for sectarian advantage."

When the report on federation came up for consideration,

at the eighth meeting of the conference, Dr. Leonard (Methodist Episcopal) said there were great *questions of political reform* that need the attention and action of the churches; and Dr. Dickey (Presbyterian) said: "We stand together in the defense of religious liberty, and for a definite separation of church and state. But I trust that *one of the practical results of this conference will be the organization of a force that lawbreakers and lawmakers will respect and heed when great questions of morals are involved.* Our gospel is the fulfilment of the law. It is our province, in the name of our supreme King, and seeking the good of mankind, to *ask rulers to respect the church.* This federation will compel an audience and it will speak with power if it will put aside its differences and make its agreement its argument." (Italics ours.)

At the final meeting of the conference addresses were made on the ideal state and the ideal church. Bishop Hendrix (Methodist) said with reference to the ideal state, that the nation is the last product of the church; that a nation is a spiritual fact more than a physical fact; that our Lord is not the Saviour from the world, implying separation from the world, but that he is the Saviour of the world; that Jesus Christ is the world's first citizen; and that the kingdom of God was to come by the quiet processes of civic righteousness.

In the closing address, given by Bishop Vincent (Methodist), the speaker stated that this federation would greatly promote the activity of an aggressive Protestantism. A Roman priest, he said, could be an acceptable adviser in sorrow or at death, but is not a safe adviser in politics. He advised Protestant ministers to qualify for that position.

From the facts and quotations here given it is plainly evident,—

Bishop E. R. Hendrix
President of the Federal Council of Churches, 1908-1912

1. That this church federation movement wields sufficient political power in this nation to dictate terms to the strongest of its political parties.

2. That the leaders in this movement realize that such is the case.

3. That they contemplate using the political power of the federation for the purpose of controlling legislation for the ends they have in view, among which they mention a "better observance of the Sabbath" (Sunday).

4. That whether so intended or not, the logic of the situation which has already been reached in this movement must inevitably lead to a union of this great church combination with the state, just as a like situation led to church and state union in the fourth century. Whoever will read church history as it was made during the fourth century by the Roman emperor Constantine and his successors, in conjunction with the bishops, will see there almost an exact parallel to the movement which is bringing church and state together to-day. Constantine needed the influence of the bishops, and the bishops wanted the help of the emperor, and accord-

ingly the two,— Constantine representing the state and the bishops the church,— joined hands for the great good of both state and church, as they thought. They had a beautiful theory of the good the church would be able to accomplish by the help of the state, and the state by the help of the church, and so beautiful and Scriptural did it appear to them that they actually believed the kingdom of Christ was about to be established on the earth through its instrumentality.

This union speedily led to religious legislation. Constantine was the author of the first Sunday law that was ever enacted. It was during the fourth century that the transfer was made from the seventh-day Sabbath to Sunday as the day of religious rest, and the bishops often had occasion to petition the emperor that the public shows might not be held on Sundays and that other worldly obstacles which kept the people from attending church on Sundays might be removed. The church councils, also, passed decrees enjoining the observance of the seventh day as a working day, and of Sunday as a rest day, and it needed the authority of the state to give such decrees binding force. Thus the work of making the empire righteous went forward for many years, until religious observances decreed by the councils of the bishops came to be strictly enforced by the state, so much so that, as the historian Neander says, "Whoever transgressed was to be considered, in fact, as guilty of sacrilege." But the kingdom of Christ was not set up. Instead, there was set up eventually by the direct logic of this church-and-state theory, the terrible Inquisition.

At this meeting the organization of the federation was completed, and the name "Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America" was adopted as a permanent title.

THE FEDERAL COUNCIL IN ACTION

The first session of the Federal Council was held in the city of Philadelphia, Dec. 2-8, 1908. At the "Inter-Church Conference on Federation," held in New York City, as before mentioned, a plan of federation had been devised and presented for adoption, to become operative when ratified by two-thirds of the churches represented at the conference. This having been done in the meantime by these various religious bodies, the council assembled in 1908 as a completed organization ready to enter upon the work for which it had been created.

The purposes of this organization, as officially set forth in the plan of federation, are:—

1. "To express the fellowship and catholic unity of the Christian church.
2. "To bring the Christian bodies of America into united service for Christ and the world.
3. "To encourage devotional fellowship and mutual counsel concerning the spiritual life and religious activities of the churches.
4. "To secure a large combined influence for the churches of Christ in all matters affecting the moral and social condition of the people, so as to promote the application of the law of Christ in every relation of human life.
5. "To assist in the organization of local branches of the Federal Council to promote its aims in their communities."

In his opening address the president, Rev. Wm. H. Roberts (Presbyterian), said that the council stands officially for thirty denominations and 18,000,000 communicants, representing a population in the United States of 50,000,000 people. Regarding its character and aims, he said:—

"The church of Christ and the nation are vitally related to each other, and the welfare of the nation depends upon the fidelity of the church to its trust. The question of questions for a nation is its religion, and that question this council will make effort to answer in a Christian manner.

"We believe that the great Christian bodies in our country should stand together, lead in the discussion of, and give an impulse to, all great movements that make for righteousness. We believe that questions like those of marriage and divorce, Sabbath desecration, foreign immigration, modern industry, the moral and religious training of the young, indeed, all great questions in which the voice of the churches should be heard, demand their united and concerted action if the church of Christ is to lead effectively in the thorough Christianization of our country.

"Another supremely important matter is the relation of the American churches and the American nation to the world for which Christ died, and which he lives to save, bless, and make perfect in holiness. . . . The essential spirit of our nation is that of Jesus Christ, and it is the duty of the American churches to make that spirit more Christian, to awaken yet greater national interest in the welfare of all earth's peoples, to provide men and means in increasing ratios for the work of spiritual salvation, and to hasten the coming of the day when the true King of men shall everywhere be crowned as Lord of all. And this council stands for the hope of organized work for speedy Christian advance toward world conquest."

Again, in speaking of certain facts which the council seeks to make evident, Dr. Roberts said: "A new order of things is beginning, an order in which . . . both individuals and the denominations shall concentrate the resources and energies of all, in an increasingly systematic and united endeavor for the winning of the nation and of the world for Christ."

Among the topics considered at this convention, as coming within the scope of work of the federation, were, "Week-day Instruction in Religion;" "Cooperation in Foreign Missions;" "State Federations;" "Local Federations;" "The Church and the Immigrant;" "The Church and Modern Industry;" "Temperance;" "Sunday Observance;" "Family Life;" "Evangelism and Home Missions;" and "International Relations."

Dr. Shailer Mathews
President of the Federal Council of Churches, and Dean of the Theological School of the University of Chicago

RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

On the subject of week-day instruction in religion, the following resolutions were adopted:—

"First, That there can be no true education without religion; to provide adequate religious instruction for their children is the duty of the churches, a primal and imperative duty.

"Second, That the hour at Sunday-school, the religious exercises of the public school and the ethical instruction of the public school do not meet the requirements of 'adequate religious instruction.'

"Third, That to provide religious instruction for their children is not only the duty of the churches, it is their inherited and inherent *right;* but it is the duty of parents to give home religious instruction to their children."

FOREIGN MISSIONARY WORK

On the subject of the cooperation of the Federal Council in foreign missions, the following resolutions were adopted:—

1. "That the practical and effective efforts at cooperation abroad have the hearty and even enthusiastic support of this Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

2. "That home organizations and churches promote in every possible way the development of this movement.

3. "That we favor the closest possible federation of all Christian churches in foreign mission fields.

4. "That we express our approval of union educational institutions in mission countries wherever practicable, in which teachers and students of various denominations shall have equal privileges and opportunities.

5. "That we commend the efforts made to provide an interdenominational vernacular Christian literature of wide scope for the people of the East."

The chief interest in the discussion of this subject centered on the proposition, which was incorporated in the resolutions as first presented, that the council should favor "the elimination so far as possible of denominational distinctions [in the foreign fields], so that all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity may dwell in the unity and in the bonds of peace."

Rev. A. S. Lloyd, General Secretary Home and Foreign Missionary Society, Protestant Episcopal Church, in speaking to these resolutions said:—

"The best sign of the times is that in every religious company now, men apologize for being separated from their brethren. It means the coming of the coming One. Why should not this be the time when all God's people begin to study what must be eliminated to secure the unity of Christendom? There can not be Christian unity until the Greek and Roman Catholic Churches unite with Protestants. Let us not leave out anybody. All the family must get together, then the King will come back to his own."

Another speaker, Rev. E. T. Root (Congregationalist), Field Secretary Rhode Island and Massachusetts Federation of Churches, said:—

"In Massachusetts no topic is so prominent and popular as that of the federation of the churches. The same is true in Rhode Island. The federation is to enable the churches to do their work individually. The churches must know and have on record the position of every voter on moral questions. Some church must be responsible for each square mile of territory."

Rev. Chas. L. Thompson spoke of the division of missionary territory among the churches that is already being carried into effect in Porto Rico, the Philippines, Brazil, and Argentina. The principle recognized in this division of territory is, he said, that wherever any church of the federation is already established in a certain territory, and has facilities in operation for the propagation of gospel work, the other churches must keep hands off. No new church must come in to do any work of its own. Any violation of this principle will be regarded as a serious offense. The idea was also put forward and sanctioned that no church can say that it has the sum total of truth, but each church must recognize that the other churches are necessary to embody the complete truth.

THE CHURCH AND THE WORKINGMEN

One of the most prominent features of the convention was a long step taken by the churches of the federation in the direction of securing the sympathy and cooperation of the labor-unions. This step was taken by the adoption of resolutions in which the federation pledged its influence in securing for the workingmen almost everything for which the unions have ever contended or could with any reason ask of employers,— a reduction of hours of labor to "the lowest practicable point," "a living wage as the minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford," "the most equitable division of the profits of industry that can be devised, suitable provision for old age and for those incapacitated by injury, the protection of the worker from dangerous machinery and occupational disease, the suppression of the 'sweating system,' the abolition of child labor, needed regulation of the conditions of toil for women, a release from employment one day in seven, and the abatement of poverty in general."

The Rev. Chas. L. Stelzle, Secretary of the Department of Church and Labor of the Presbyterian Church, called the attention of the council to the activity of the Socialists in proclaiming their doctrines to the people, and declared that they were ahead of the church in working for the solution of industrial problems.

A special meeting to give expression to the drawing together of the church and the workingman through the federation, was held in the Lyric Theater, Sunday afternoon. The members of twenty-six labor-unions of the city occupied the main auditorium of the building, while the representatives of the federation occupied the stage. The president of the National Glass Blowers' Union, Mr. Denis A. Hayes (Catholic), presided. The resolutions defining the purpose of the federation with respect to industrial problems were read and were received with enthusiasm. Mr. Denis Hayes said:—

"This declaration on the part of the church is the most important thing that has happened in a long time. These labor resolutions are about as progressive as we could ask for. They show a keen insight into labor and social conditions. They might well have come from a meeting of the American Federation of Labor. I hope every church will establish a department of labor. I have always believed there would never be any improvement in the condition of our workers, especially in the mills and factories, among the women and children and unskilled workmen, until the church took a hand. The church is the greatest moral power on earth."

Rev. Chas. L. Stelzle said:—

"Before you can introduce an ideal social system, you must have ideal men. This is the mission of Christianity. Nobody can prove from the Scriptures that Jesus Christ was the advocate of any particular social system. The Socialists have not demonstrated that they can bring about the golden age they promise. Its advocates are not agreed as to what particular process would be the best for the world. And any system they might adopt would soon prove unsatisfactory, for this is a progressive

Rev. Charles L. Stelzle
Secretary of the Department of Church and Labor, Presbyterian Board of Home Missions

age, and we can not legislate for the next generation. . . . War will cease when the workingmen of the world refuse to go out and shoot down their brother workmen. [Great applause.] It is the mission of the church to create social unrest."

Among the recommendations brought before the council for adoption were the following:—

"That the church in general not only aim to socialize its message, to understand the forces which now dispute its supremacy, to stay by the people in the effort to solve with them their problems, but also modify its own equipment and procedure in the interest of more democratic administration and larger social activity.

"That more generally in her buildings provision be made for the service of the community as well as for the public worship of God.

"That in its councils of direction workingmen be welcomed and the wisdom of the poor be more freely recognized.

"That in its assemblies artificial distinctions be rebuked and removed.

"That in its financial management the commercial method, if it exist, be replaced by the principles of the gospel as set forth in the epistle of James, to the end that the workers and the poor, vastly in the majority in the United States, may ever find the church as homelike as the union hall, more attractive than the saloon, more tolerant of their aspirations than the political club. . . .

"That the attention of workingmen be called to the fact that the institution of a day of rest secured for the toilers of Christendom by the very charter of the church, has been defended in their behalf by it throughout the centuries."

Up to this point in the proceedings of the council but little had transpired to indicate the answer to the question whether this church combination was inwardly what it seemed to be outwardly; whether it was as benevolent in character as it was in profession; whether its acquired power was to be exercised in the spirit of respect for individual freedom and the rights of conscience, or whether underneath its mild exterior there was concealed the spirit of religious intolerance. The council professed to have no intention of interfering in the slightest degree with the perfect freedom of the individual churches represented in its membership; on the contrary, its avowed object was to express to the world "the fellowship and catholic unity" of the component church bodies. The inspired Word, however, has furnished no warrant for the expectation that a church which grasps at worldly power will be guided by divine principles in the use of it; and history has furnished no example of a church invested with such power which did not exercise it in an intolerant manner. The power of numbers is indeed of no use for persuasion, but for coercion only. It was therefore but a reasonable conclusion that in spite of all outward appearances this great religious combine would manifest the spirit of intolerance should occasion arise to call such a spirit to the front.

And it so happened that occasion did arise. Unplanned and unanticipated, an incident occurred which drew aside for a moment the veil from the inner sanctuary of the movement, and lo! the dragon of intolerance stood revealed. As might be anticipated, this incident occurred in connection with action which was taken by the council in the matter of Sab-

bath observance, the suppression of "Sabbath desecration" being prominent among the reforms which the Federal Council has in view. A "Committee on Sunday Observance" had been appointed, whose chairman, Rev. Frederick D. Power, D. D., of Washington, D. C., presented to the council the following resolutions:—

1. "It is the sense of the council that a new and stronger emphasis should be given in the pulpit, the Sunday-school, and the home to the Scriptural observance of the first day of the week as the sacred day, the home day, the rest day for every man, woman, and child.

2. "That all encroachments upon the claims and sanctities of the Lord's day should be stoutly resisted through the press, the Lord's day associations and alliances, and by such legislation as may be secured to protect and preserve this bulwark of our American Christianity.

"Whereas, A convention has recently been held in the city of Pittsburg, Pa., for the purpose of forming an organization which shall be nation-wide in its scope and shall concentrate the energy of all forces working for the preservation of the Lord's day as a day for rest and worship, and

"Whereas, The result of the convention has been effective steps in the organization of the Lord's Day Alliance of the United States; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we rejoice in the prospect of unity of action among the various organizations striving in America for the preservation of the Lord's day as a day for rest and worship, as indicated by the organization of the Lord's Day Alliance of the United States, not only unifying the forces in this country, but bringing them into harmony with the organizations of Canada, England, Scotland, Japan, and other countries which are organized under the same name.

"Resolved, That we advise the constituent bodies of this Federal Council to appoint representatives to the Lord's Day Alliance of the United States, and make that organization the arm of all the cooperating forces for the above-named end."

These resolutions were read before the assembled delegates, among whom sat several representatives of the Seventh-day Baptist denomination. Obviously, they could not

be expected to subscribe to resolutions requiring them to advocate the sacredness of a day which they did not observe and in whose sanctity they did not believe, and to join in efforts to enforce its observance upon themselves and others. This fact being evident to some others of the delegates, an effort was immediately made to have the resolutions so interpreted as to harmonize them with the much-emphasized idea that the federation was not in any way to interfere with the perfect freedom of any of the churches composing it. This of course was impossible; but the attempt was made by the presentation of an amendment to the resolutions. A delegate obtained the floor and said:—

"I rise to offer an amendment to the resolutions which I presume was inadvertently omitted in the committee. It is this: That nothing in these resolutions is to be understood as interfering with the convictions, rights, and privileges of those brethren who religiously and conscientiously observe the seventh day instead of the first day of the week."

The Chair requested that the resolution be presented in writing, in doing which the movers took occasion to so word it as to reduce it to the mildest possible form. As thus changed, the resolution read:—

"Resolved, That in these resolutions there is no intention to interfere with the convictions of those brethren represented with ourselves in this council, who conscientiously observe the seventh day of the week as the day of rest and worship."

All reference to the "rights and privileges" of seventh-day observers, and all reference to any such people outside the federation, had been omitted, and the council was asked by this resolution simply to affirm with respect to the matter of Sabbath observance its own express declaration that the federation had no design of interfering with the perfect liberty of any of the component churches. No sooner was the read-

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Rev. C. S. Macfarland, D. D.
General Secretary Federal Council of Churches

ing of the resolution finished than Bishop Neely (Methodist) was on his feet. He said:—

"I regret very much that this resolution has been presented. The people referred to in it do not believe in the Lord's day. They believe in some other day. These resolutions emphasize the Lord's day. We must stand for the Lord's day and not weaken what we say. We must decide on one day as a Sabbath or the whole purpose goes for nought. If we make a formal consent to another day, how can we hope to bring about proper observance of the first day of the week in our mission fields and in places where there is little disposition to observe it in our own country? I hope this resolution will be voted down." (Applause.)

Rev. Wayland Hoyt, D. D., a Baptist clergyman of Philadelphia, arose as the representative of those favoring the resolution. He said:—

"I earnestly hope that this resolution will pass. Let us remember that the brethren of the Seventh-day Baptists are just as much represented in this council as are any others. If we are going to preserve brotherhood we are not going to clash because of the conscientious convictions of brethren associated with us in this council of churches. I do not sympathize with them in their belief, but I respect them for their willingness to stand firm and true to what they believe, and for the

fact that they are willing to sacrifice. While I am in full harmony with the spirit of the resolution already submitted, I believe we ought never to adopt such statements as will even seem to conflict with the convictions of brethren equally represented with us on this floor. This federation will be more and more acknowledged throughout the churches, and it is absolutely necessary that we be thoroughly fair with one another, and thoroughly brotherly with each other in all our relations. I believe that God looks smilingly upon this desire to be absolutely fair and just and brotherly to all represented in this federation of churches. I earnestly hope this resolution will pass."

Rev. A. E. Main, Seventh-day Baptist, dean of Alfred Theological Seminary, Alfred, N. Y., arose at this point and made an earnest plea for religious freedom. He said:—

"We know that we represent the smallest body in this council, and on that account we are grateful for your recognition of us and your invitation to unite with you as being evangelical and Christian, believing in God the Father and in Jesus Christ his Son, and having no other hope of salvation except through his atonement. We have heard with delight the appeals from this platform in behalf of religious freedom; and shall it be that in this council which has heard these grand pleas made, and in this city of brotherly love, where a Seventh-day Baptist presided at a session of the Continental Congress, you will refuse to say that we shall be free in the exercise of our convictions when we have stood shoulder to shoulder with you in this movement? Let our answer be a federated union in the belief of the principles of Christ as the world's Redeemer. Let it be the voice of this council that the eighteen millions of communicants shall keep step, and the time will come when the forces of sin and Satan will be thwarted and vanquished. It is the power of the church united that is to break down the power of sin and Satan.

"I say again, shall we be divided because of the conscientious convictions of those who believe that the seventh day rather than the first day of the week should be observed as a day of rest and worship? or shall we all be united in the Saviour of the world?"

But no voice in the council echoed this plea for religious

Rev. F. M. North, D. D.
man Executive Committee, Federal Council of Churches

freedom. Dr. Main was followed by two other delegates, both of whom were opposed to the resolution. One of these, a representative of the Disciple Church, said:—

"If the resolution only proposed not to interfere with the convictions of any members of this council, I would be in favor of it. But this is not all that is involved in it. We must remember that there are other bodies of religious believers who maintain unfraternal and hostile relations toward us, and who are hostile to the observance of the first day of the week as a

est day; and we must not do anything that would seem to
ıe the position of such bodies. If we should accept this
tion, which gives the impression that we acknowledge that
is another day than the first day of the week which is the
ı day, the Sabbath, I say there are those who will take ad-
ge of any such admission on our part. There are the Jews
ıe Seventh-day Adventists. If we pass this resolution they
ake heart in their antagonism to things held sacred by this
il, in addition to their assaults on the first day of the

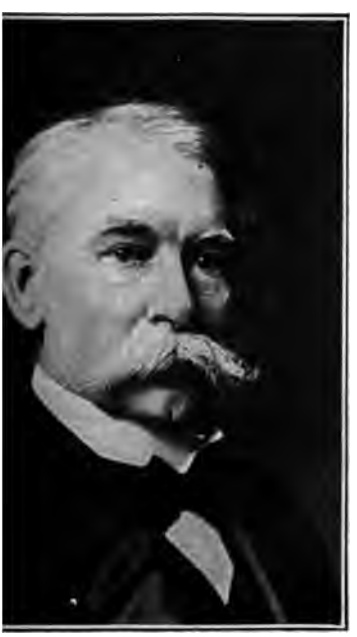
I believe we ought to leave out all reference to any
bserved by Jews or Seventh-day Adventists, and take only
ıy that has supplanted all other days."

nd when the resolution was put to a vote it was defeated
decisive majority.

his action by the Federal Council, coming unplanned

and unanticipated, drew aside for a moment the veil covering the inner sanctuary of the movement, and revealed within it the old familiar principle of coercion of the religious minority by the religious majority. It revealed the embryo of religious persecution, ready to grow and become active under favoring conditions. It demonstrated that the "unity" about which so much was said in the council, as being one of the great things it was to exhibit to the world, was to be secured only by the sacrifice of conscientious convictions on the part of the religious minority. The Seventh-day Baptists were plainly informed by it that they could remain in the council only at the price of surrendering the one distinctive feature of their faith, which alone justified their existence as a separate religious body,— their advocacy of the seventh-day Sabbath. But to surrender one's convictions of conscience touching religious truth and duty is to surrender Christianity itself. Only by the surrender of Christianity can the Seventh-day Baptists remain in the council and show to the world the impressive spectacle of Christian unity!

The Federal Council was asked to declare that in the resolutions adopted on the subject of Sunday observance, "there is no intention to interfere with the convictions of those brethren represented with ourselves in this council who conscientiously observe the seventh day of the week instead of the first day as the day of rest and worship." It refused to do so. By such refusal, it by implication declared that it did mean to interfere with the convictions of its own members if they would not fall into line in exalting Sunday as the Christian Sabbath; and when the council takes this attitude toward its own membership, it may easily be surmised what its attitude will be toward those outside its ranks who also have convictions on this subject differing from those of the majority. To require the Seventh-day Baptists to join with



Rev. Elias B. Sanford, D. D.
ording Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, 1908-1912

the council in working for the exaltation of Sunday does directly interfere with their convictions, and certainly the Federal Council will not be less ready to interfere with the convictions of seventh-day observers outside its membership.

It is perfectly clear, therefore, that this gigantic federation, with its 18,000,000 church-members and many more millions of adherents, wielding a power which neither legislatures nor Congress can ınd, and which no political party would dare oppose, is ant in character and is fitted to become a mighty int of oppression against the religious minority who enture to act independently of its authority. It is in other words, to cause this nation to act the very ecified in the prophecy of Revelation 13, where it is nted as a persecuting power.

extensive an organization as this Federal Council of ıes will not confine its activities to one or to a few lo- in the nation, but will embrace every section of the y in its field of work. It also intends to exercise a te monopoly of religious work in every community;

to become, in other words, a gigantic and irresistible religious trust. On this point some strong statements have been made by some of its official representatives. In the "Plan of Federation" it is set forth that "no community in which any denomination has any legitimate claim, should be entered by any other denomination through its official agencies without conference with the denomination or denominations having said claims"; and "in case one denomination begins gospel work in a destitute community, it should be left to develop that work without other denominational interference." And it was further stated at this convention:—

"The time has come when the churches may and must know every individual in the entire community as accurately as they now know their own membership. It thus becomes possible, as in two States already, to announce the watchword, 'Some church responsible for each square mile.' The key-note is responsibility. Dynamite is in that word. Its significance once realized, it will revolutionize the relation of the churches to the community and to each other.

"The policy of the federation should be to emphasize the importance of the 'responsibility districts' which it establishes. When these cover the State, and the churches so appreciate their opportunity and responsibility that each church will know the position of every voter on moral issues, and tirelessly work to place every one upon the right side, moral reforms will come swiftly and permanently. The fort is then built, the guns placed, ready for any emergency."

At the first annual meeting of the Executive Committee of the federation, held in December, 1909, at Louisville, Ky., the monopolistic character of the organization was emphasized in a speech by the president, Bishop Hendrix of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in which he spoke of the smaller denominations as "fragments," and said that if they ever had any real mission they had served their purpose and should now be merged into the larger bodies. "In a few years," he said, "all religious work done by Protestants in the United

Dr. Walter Rauschenbusch
esident of the Religious Citizenship League

States ought to be carried on by not more than eight or ten of the larger denominations."

Behold, then, this gigantic church combine, this great religious trust, intolerant in character, taking the field with the avowed intention of monopolizing religious work in every square mile of American territory, and no great stretch of imagination will be needed to understand how this nation, though lamblike in its coming up, will yet speak as a dragon. One great church, the greatest numerically in country, remains outside this federation of churches, and respect to that church — namely, the Roman Catholic rch — the Federal Council of Churches can not expect to opolize the field of religion, but must seek to work ugh cooperation. There is one prominent point of religbelief and practise where Protestants and Romanists occommon ground, and that is the observance of Sunday as Christian Sabbath. For the enforcement of Sunday obance both Protestants and Catholics are calling; on that they stand together. And that is the very issue out of h religious persecution can most easily arise in this coun-

try, and the very thing referred to by the prophecy of Revelation 13, in the words "an image to the beast."

The second quadrennial session of the Federal Council of Churches was held in Chicago, in December, 1912. Of the features of this session, three in particular indicate the trend of sentiment in the organization and the direction in which it is progressing. These are:—

1. The election to the presidency of Professor Shailer Mathews of the Theological Department of Chicago University, a leader in the American school of higher critics. From this it seems evident that the Federal Council of Churches can not be expected to stand for the old-time religion of Bunyan, Wesley, and the pioneers who laid the foundations of this nation. From some adherents of the council this action elicited a strong protest.

2. The discarding of the term "Protestant" in the official announcement of the council that it stands for Christian unity. In the report of the executive committee, the hope was expressed that the session of the Federal Council would make more clear "the fact of the substantial unity of the Christian and Protestant churches of the nation." Objection was immediately raised to the term "Protestant" on the ground that it was not a uniting but a dividing word; and this objection prevailed. The newspapers of the following morning made the fact prominent in their headlines. The Federal Council, therefore, by this special action virtually proclaims that it expresses the "substantial unity" of the Christian churches of America, including the Church of Rome. It is evident, therefore, that the Federal Council of Churches can not be expected to stand for the religion of Luther and the reformers, or in any decided way for Protestant principles.

3. The special effort made to come into close touch and

Rev. W. D. P. Bliss
General Secretary of the Religious Citizenship League

unity with the workingman. Special meetings were held and special speakers provided, and no effort was spared to pave the way for bringing the churches and the workingmen together. A program of action specifying sixteen provisions for which the churches are to stand in behalf of the laboring class was adopted, covering the whole ground of controversy between employer and employee. The labor-unions being very largely composed of Catholics, the coming together of the church and the workingmen in this way must tend to draw the Protestant and Catholic churches together in many lines of activity. Indeed, in the reports of local federation work presented at this session of the Federal Council it was stated that the federations had joined forces with Roman Catholics in Baltimore, New York City, and other places.

SUNDAY ENFORCEMENT

In its plans for bringing the church and the workingmen together the Federal Council is giving special attention to the matter of securing legislation which will give the workingman "one day in seven" for rest. Its Commission on the

Church and Social Service brought in a report stating that "a one-day-in-seven campaign for industrial workers has been undertaken by joint relationship with the American Association for Labor Legislation; and . . . State committees of representatives of the various denominations have been appointed and urged to take up the matter in their several States. The American Association for Labor Legislation is preparing the necessary legislation in the various States. On Labor Sunday this subject was presented from many thousand pulpits in response to the suggestion of the commission."

The most recent development in the field of religio-political activity is the organization of the "Religious Citizenship League," concerning whose character and aims we have the following statement by the secretary, Rev. W. D. P. Bliss:—

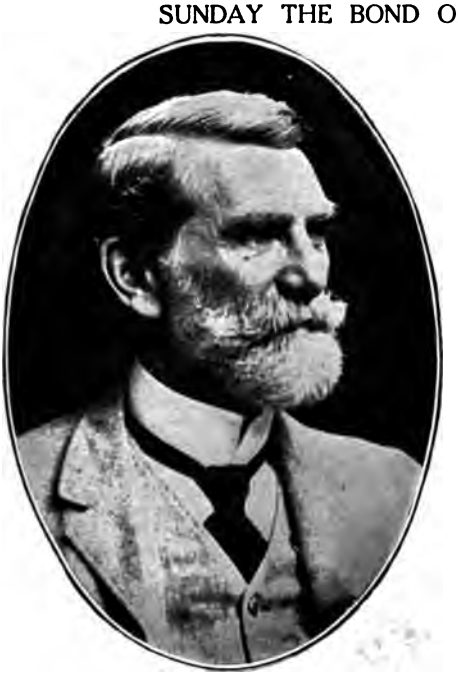
"Two declarations express the breath and spirit of the new religious militant organization — the Religious Citizenship League. 'If the religious people get together nothing can stand in their way,' writes Dr. Walter Rauschenbusch, president of the league, while Dr. Stephen S. Wise of the Free Synagogue says: 'The league is an opportunity and a challenge to all the religious forces.'

"The league is religious and it is militant. It is making extensive plans. In New York City a committee of one hundred has been organized to guide the movement.

"The league's plans mean warfare, not for religion, nor between religions, but by religion for positive social measures. This is where the league differs from previous organizations.

"The churches of our country have recently and rapidly been becoming interested in social reform, in what is sometimes called social service. But hitherto they have made but vague statements and general pronouncements. Various denominations have drafted statements of principles and the Federation of Churches has adopted what is sometimes called a social creed. But this Religious Citizenship League takes a step forward, and aims to unite the religious forces for definite measures. According to its constitution its aim is:—

" 'To interest, educate and unite men and women, especially



Rev. Josiah Strong
Vice-president of the Religious Citizenship League

the members of churches, synagogues and other religious or ethical bodies, in securing the enactment and enforcement of legislative measures for the industrial and social welfare of all the people.'

"This is a new departure. It means for the first time in the history of our country that the forces which make for righteousness are getting together not for discussion or statement of principles, but for action — 'for social progress through political action.' This has been done previously by a few and to a partial extent by many, but never before as a broad national movement."

Here is a "religious" league which is to be "militant" in securing the enactment and enforcement of legislative measures," among which is to be the "requirement of one day's rest in seven"; in other words, the enforced observance of Sunday. This is the one thing that is never omitted,— the bond of union which all these organizations have in common.

In the light of such facts it requires no great stretch of imagination to see at no distant date a grand coming together of Protestant and Catholic churches and labor-unions upon their one common basis of belief in Sunday as the Christian Sabbath and divinely-appointed day of weekly rest. Already such a union is far advanced toward realization; and

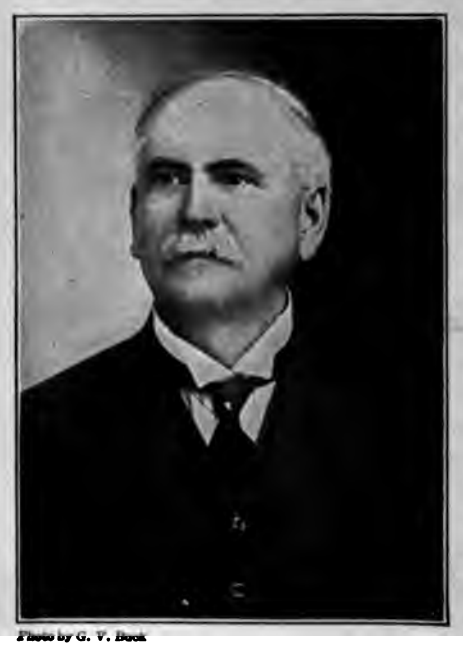


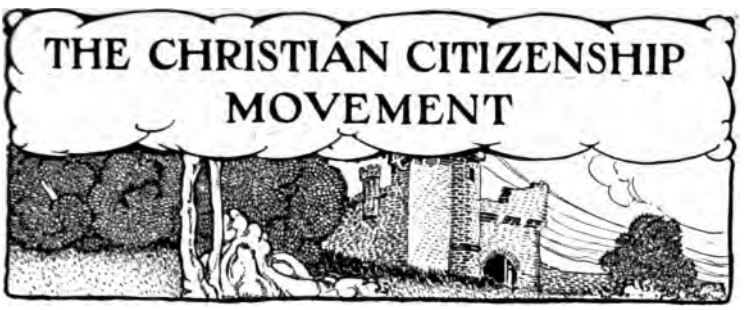
Photo by G. V. Buck

Rev. H. K. Carroll

Appointed by the Federal Council of Churches as Its Special Representative at Washington

it requires no prophetic gift to foretell that when the power of such a combination shall be brought to bear upon legislatures and executives, they will yield to the pressure and exalt Sunday into the place of the Sabbath set apart by Jehovah.

There is no room in the week for two sabbaths. There is no call for sabbath legislation in addition to the Sabbath law of Jehovah. The seventh day was set apart at creation from *all* other days of the week, as the day of rest. The distinguishing mark of its observance is abstinence from secular work. If two days in the week are observed in this manner, the seventh day is no longer set apart by itself as the day of rest, as the Creator commanded it should be. And when men enact a law setting apart a different day as the weekly day of rest, they strike at his holy day and encourage its profanation. They legislate, in fact, contrary to the Sabbath precept of the Decalogue, and, as stated, exalt another day into the place of God's Sabbath, the token of his sovereignty.



CHAPTER XVII

NO one religious body or organization in the land to-day has a monopoly of work for the promotion of "Christian Citizenship." While the National Reform Association is holding world conferences in its behalf, the idea is equally prominent in the aims of other religious organizations, some of which, like the Federal Council of Churches and the Christian Endeavor Society, far surpass the National Reform Association in size and influence. Indeed, religious circles almost everywhere are permeated with the idea of promoting world morality by the agencies of civil government. The popular belief that the millennium is at hand is in harmony with this idea. By legislation, by the ballot, by the political influence of great religious organizations, great moral changes in society are to be brought about quickly. Governments are to be Christianized and righteousness established by law. The moral ills, and to a large extent, the physical ills that afflict society are to be swept away and the world made ready for the coming kingdom of Christ. Such is the goal that is to be attained, we are told, through the avenue of Christian citizenship.

A fundamental proposition in the program of Christian citizenship, is that the saints could outvote the sinners if they only would. Where the character of the government is

determined by popular vote, it is of course necessary for the righteous to be in the majority if they are to accomplish anything by the ballot. The advocates of Christian citizenship feel sure that the righteous are in the majority, but the trouble has been that Christians have not applied their Christianity in public affairs. They have not at the polls, in the legislature, and in public office, put their Christianity into practise. They have allowed the departments of government to be run by bad men, when they might have voted the bad men out of office and put good men in their places.

The Christian citizenship movement is to arouse Christians to a sense of their civic duties, so that they will put only Christian men in public office, who will make and enforce Christian laws. This will make the government Christian and establish such conditions that it will be difficult for people to do wrong, and easy to do right. Such is the picture in the minds of the leaders in this movement.

They admit that the old-time method of advancing the kingdom of Christ through individual regeneration by a change of heart, was good to a degree, but in their view it is altogether too slow for the present age, when things are done on a larger scale than formerly. What they want now is the conversion of governments and the establishment of Christian States.

But what support has this Christian citizenship program in the Word of God? That is the decisive question. It is easy to construct theories and see beautiful visions of good times to come; but if they are without support in the declarations of Scripture we may be sure that the pleasing picture is no more substantial than a mirage of the desert.

The National Reformers and other leaders in this movement quote certain Scripture texts which say that Jesus Christ is to be given the kingdoms of this world; but they

ignore other and equally plain texts which declare that when the kingdoms of this world are given into the hands of Christ, he is to break them in pieces. See Ps. 2:9; Rev. 12:5; also Rev. 19:15 and Dan. 2:44. They can find no text which supports the idea that nations are to become Christian or that the world is to be converted.

The old-time method of salvation by faith through the preaching of the cross of Christ is the only method of Christian work known to the Scriptures. The gospel commission given by the risen Christ to his disciples says nothing about reforming governments and saving kingdoms, but about the salvation of individual hearers and believers only. "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." Mark 16:16. Salvation by faith is the only method of salvation known to Christianity, and faith is always an individual matter.

Orange Picking Scene at Ormond, Fla.

The Bible nowhere says that the saints will be able in this world to outvote the sinners, but it does say that they are the salt of the earth, the means by which the earth is preserved. Matt. 5:13.

This truth was illustrated in the destruction of Sodom. If there had been but ten righteous persons found in Sodom, the whole city would have been saved. Gen. 18:32. The earth is saved from destruction by the judgments of God because the righteous are in it, though they are in proportion to the wicked but an insignificant number. The salvation of the earth does not depend upon the votes of the righteous, for there are not enough righteous persons in it to make any showing by the ballot; but it does depend upon the integrity of the righteous. If the salt loses its quality (Matt. 5:13) it can preserve nothing; likewise, if the Christian church loses her Christianity, the only shield of the earth against the wrath of God is gone.

Evidently, then, the all-important thing is that the Christian church should not lose her Christianity and become like the world. And this is why God has always manifested more concern over the condition of his church than over the condition of the world.

His church is the avenue through which God manifests himself to the world. If the church becomes corrupt or refuses to be a channel of divine light, God is shut out and given no opportunity to manifest his saving power.

The book of the Acts of the Apostles is a record of the wonderful working of God for the salvation of men, through a righteous church, that gave free course to the operations of the Holy Spirit. When Peter spoke on the day of Pentecost, three thousand were converted at once. The apostles went forth to carry out the great gospel commission, clothed with a power which nothing could withstand. The early Chris-

tian church spread the gospel message throughout the whole known world, and this in the face of all the opposition of the mightiest empire the world had ever known. The power that accompanied this mighty movement was not the power of votes, or of legislation, or of political influence, or of wealth, but the mighty power of God, which far exceeds all the power of earth.

But a change came over the situation; and it came not because of some stronger opposition from the world against which the forces of Christ could not gain ground, but because of a falling away in the church itself. Gradually the spirit of worldliness crept into the church; pride and selfishness and strife for supremacy were seen; and as a result the world was plunged into the long and terrible period of the Dark Ages. The "salt of the earth" had lost its savor; the "light of the world" had gone out in darkness; and through this Satan had accomplished infinitely more than he could have accomplished by arraying all the powers of earth combined against a pure Christian church filled with the spirit and power of God.

The important question therefore is not, What is the condition of the world? but what is the condition of the church? The great danger is not that the world may do wickedly, but that the church may lose her Christianity. Let it be remembered that it is entirely possible for the church to maintain the form of godliness while knowing nothing of the power of godliness. See 2 Tim. 3: 1-5.

There are crimes that shock society; but there are also popular and respectable sins that exist in the church almost without protest, and do their deadly work of separating the church from Christ. Consider for example the sins of pride and covetousness. Is there any pride and covetousness to be found in the Christian churches to-day? Is there

any love of display? any love of preeminence? Are church-members to-day absorbed in the pursuit of wealth?

Who that has eyes to see will deny that the world has gone mad to-day in the pursuit of wealth and amusement, and that church-members are hardly to be distinguished from the world in this respect?

Pride cast down Lucifer from his position of covering cherub by the throne of God, and changed him into the devil. Covetousness led Judas to betray his Lord; and the name of Judas has come down through the ages as the synonym of moral infamy. The sins of pride and covetousness are no less heinous in the sight of God, and no less deadly in their effects, at the present day than at any time in the past, and are all the more dangerous because of their respectability.

Is it not the prevalence of sin in the church that has driven the power of God from her midst and caused her to grasp after the power of the state to supply the lack? This is a question which religious leaders may well ask in all seriousness to-day.

The great crime of the ages — the crucifixion of the world's Redeemer — was committed not by the publicans and sinners, but by the Pharisees and the chief priests; in other words, by the outwardly good, respectable element in the church. Pilate was willing to save Jesus, but the church element demanded his death.

It is the purpose of the Christian citizenship movement to see that only good Christian men are entrusted with the responsibilities of public office. The "rascals" are to be turned out and men approved by the church put in their places. Will not this be a bid to office-seekers to flock into the church?

The one great safeguard of the church against the encroachment of worldliness has ever been the fact that true Christianity means always the denial of self, and therefore

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Christ Cleansing the Temple

We are not told that Christ inaugurated any movement for the reformation of Jerusalem; but he did show solicitude for the condition of the house of God.

ffers no inducement to the self-server to enter her fold. But hen good standing in the church becomes a prerequisite to ublic office, this safeguard is broken down and the way is pened for the church to become like fallen Babylon,— the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and ateful bird." Rev. 18: 2.

What is to be gained by purifying the world at the cost f bringing corruption into the church? How much will the ituation have been bettered when the churches, through their hristian citizenship campaign, shall have turned the rasals out of public office, while retaining the Judases and he Pharisees in their own communions? when they have leansed Sodom, but have become themselves like unto Capernaum?

Christ declared that it would be more tolerable for Sodom n the day of Judgment than for Capernaum. The rejecon of the light which God had sent to the city of Capernaum was more offensive in the sight of God than even the ocking sins that were committed in Sodom.

With such an example before them, may not religious eaders well be concerned lest the churches to-day should reect a message that comes from Heaven, and thus fall into the ondition of Capernaum?

Jesus Christ when he was upon earth made no move to eform the cities, but he did cleanse the temple of God; and t is certain that were he upon earth to-day he would show nore concern for the cleansing of his church than for the eformation of the cities and the setting up of Christian States.

The idea that the world can be Christianized to-day by he use of such means as legislation, the ballot, and political neasures of whatever sort, finds no warrant in revelation or n history. When Jesus sent his disciples into all the world

to accomplish the great commission he had given them, which was to complete the work he had begun, he said to them, "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore . . . and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Matt. 28:18-20. Jesus has been with his disciples from that day to this, having "all power" in heaven and in earth. How much more power then can be brought to bear upon the world for its conversion than has already been exercised by the church of Christ for over eighteen centuries? Yet the world remains unconverted and society is to-day as far as ever from exhibiting the graces of the Christian life. The mad rush after wealth and pleasure which is everywhere evident, and nowhere more so than in so-called Christian lands, does not testify that the world is preparing to-day for the reign of righteousness.

What wonderful potency is there in a governmental profession of religion which will bring success in sweeping away the moral ills of society where the Christian evangelist, though accompanied by "all power" in heaven and in earth, has failed? State religion is not an untried experiment, and in place of exerting a wonderful influence for good, has been found to be productive of unmeasured evil both to the state and to the church.

But while the Christian citizenship movement can not possibly succeed in fulfilling the hopes entertained by its promoters, it will no less certainly have results of a much less fortunate character. It will help to turn this country backward toward the times of church-and-state union, now imagined to be forever past. It will lead directly toward reunion of Protestantism with the Church of Rome,— consummation devoutly to be shunned.

The truth of this statement appears when we consider the fact that the large cities of this country, where conditions

are most in need of being changed, are very largely in the grasp of Roman Catholics. For example, it was stated by the president of the Christian Endeavor Union of San Francisco, Calif., at the International Christian Endeavor Convention of 1913, that there were in that city of half a million people only 18,000 Protestant church-members. The Catholics and the Jews are the controlling element there. What is true of San Francisco in this respect is true in a great degree of other large cities, notably such cities as New York, Chicago, Boston, and Baltimore. The Catholic Church has made herself so strong in the great centers of population that no great changes can be made in them without the consent and cooperation of Catholic citizens. Thus the Protestant bodies in the pursuance of their Christian citizenship program will be driven to make overtures to the Catholic Church, and the latter will be in a position to dictate the terms upon which her cooperation can be had. We may be sure that the papacy will not fail to take advantage of this situation in the interests of her cherished purpose "to make America Catholic."

The idea of evolving a kingdom of Christ out of conditions in this world, is not a new one. It was held as far back as the days when Christ was upon the earth. It became fixed in the minds of his disciples, and they expected Christ to set up an earthly kingdom, break the Roman yoke which was upon the Jewish nation, and bring the nations of the earth into subjection to himself. So absorbed were they in this expectation that they failed to understand the plainest statements made to them by their Lord concerning his approaching betrayal, crucifixion, and resurrection. Their minds were occupied in disputing over the question of preeminence in the kingdom; and as a result of their sinful blindness of mind, they were wholly unprepared for the

crisis in Gethsemane, and the record is that they all "forsook him and fled."

What will be the outcome of the like delusion which is leading men to-day to attempt to Christianize the nations and set up the kingdom of Christ out of the kingdoms of this world? The idea that by education, legislation, the ballot, and political agencies of various sorts, the kingdom of Christ can be set up on the earth, blinds the minds of religious leaders to-day to the plainest declarations of the Scripture, just as the minds of Christ's disciples were blinded to the meaning of his words. For there is nothing plainer in God's Word than the truth that Christ's kingdom is not of this world, that not an element of earth can enter into it, and that when Christ comes the second time, as a king, all earthly kingdoms are to be swept utterly out of existence. Dan. 2:34, 35, 44, 45. The very earth itself is to melt and everything upon it to be burned up, when the great day of God shall come. 2 Peter 3:10, 12. As the world of Adam's day was destroyed by water, so the earth as it is now, is "reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men." 2 Peter 3:7.

By all means, let the cities be cleansed, if possible, of their corruptness. Let upright men be chosen for positions of public trust, and righteous laws made and enforced; but let the church of Christ remember that it is in no political sense that she is the salt of the earth and the light of the world. Let Christians remember that they can be agents of salvation to the world only by coming out from the world and being separate (2 Cor. 6:17), by being channels of the grace of God and the light of his gospel, by using spiritual and not carnal weapons of warfare. 2 Cor. 10:4. Let them remember that of more importance than the question of the condition of the world, is the question, What is the con-

dition of the church? What is her attitude toward sin?

"Perilous times" to come were foretold by St. Paul in his epistle to Timothy; not because of the ungodliness of worldly men who scoff at religion, but because of the worldliness of those who are outwardly religious. "This know also," he said, "that in the last days perilous times shall come. For men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, . . . lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God; *having a form of godliness,* but denying the power thereof." 2 Tim. 3:1-5. (Italics ours.) It is a list of sins, not of crimes, which is here enumerated. It is in the church itself, among those who have a form of godliness, that the real cause of present-day perils is to be found.

CHAPTER XVIII

AMONG people professing the Christian religion, measures to compel the conscience and coerce the religious minority into conformity with the religion of the majority, require some species of justification. To this end the advocates of religious legislation have brought forward the theory that a nation is a moral person, with moral accountability separate and apart from the moral accountability of its citizens as individuals. A government, they say, can sin, can repent, can obtain salvation from God, the same as an individual, and is therefore bound by the same moral law. Hence, there must be national as well as individual religion; and the national religion in the United States must be the Christian religion. We must have here a Christian civil government.

As the civil government acts by force,— coercion,— a religious civil government necessarily means enforced religion.

Let us assume a case for purposes of illustration. Mr. A, let us suppose, believes with the religious majority, while his neighbor, Mr. B, stands with the minority. Mr. B's religious belief and practise are a testimony that Mr. A is in the wrong; and this Mr. A does not like, especially as he can find no good Scriptural proof in support of his po-

sition. It would suit him if Mr. B were compelled to show deference to his belief, at least in his outward acts. But Mr. A can not say to Mr. B, "You must bring your religion *into* outward conformity with mine." He would have no more right to make such a demand of Mr. B than the latter would have to make the like demand of him. That is too plain for anybody to *deny*. Neither could Mr. A get a company of his friends with him and with their support demand that Mr. B make this surrender; *this* likewise would be plain injustice of the rankest *sort*. Neither could Mr. A's church rightfully make such a demand of Mr. B; all would stigmatize this as religious intolerance. But now recourse is had to the theory of the government's moral personality and moral accountability; the government is made to profess religion, which religion will of course, in a republic, be that of the majority; and lo! the thing is accomplished, and Mr. B is obliged under the pain and penalty of the law to act as though he believed the same as

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McDermott Falls and Grinnell Mountain, Glacier National Park, Montana

Mr. A. That which in every other light is recognized as being wholly wicked and incapable of justification, now all at once becomes reasonable, just, and Christian! The religious minority are coerced by the religious majority and punished in any way the law may prescribe for non-compliance; and it is all right, since the government has moral accountability and must profess religion! It would be a terrible wrong — it would be plain religious persecution — for the citizens to do this in an unorganized capacity; everybody admits this. It would be a manifest exhibition of religious intolerance for a church to do it. But when the people do it in the capacity of a civil government, it is not wrong at all, but eminently good and necessary! What a wonderful power there is in a little sophistry to change the character of deeds from bad to good!

Now let us look a moment at this theory of the state's moral personality and see whether it will stand the test of analysis.

Individuals, certainly, are morally accountable; and they are accountable under all circumstances. No individual is ever excused from obedience to the moral law of God. Whether a public official, or only a private citizen, he is equally responsible before God for his acts. But he is responsible for himself alone; he can not have moral responsibility delegated to him by others. No one can get rid of moral responsibility in that way.

If the people of the nation, each one for himself, would be true to their convictions of right and of duty before God, guided by his Word, as each one of them is bound to be, there would be national religion of the right sort and of the only sort that is needed, or that has any power to keep the nation in the favor of God.

A civil government exists because the people delegate

to certain ones — their representatives — authority to act for them in civil affairs. But in religion this can not rightfully be done. Religious responsibility to God can not be delegated from one person to another. Each person must carry his own responsibility, and in the Judgment day, as the Scripture declares, "every one of us shall give account of himself to God." Rom. 14:12. No person can hide behind another in that day on the plea of having chosen some one else to represent him in religion. No person can answer for another before the great Judge. Nor can any person hide behind the government, on the plea that the government required him to do something contrary to the Word of God. There will be no government action then, but all the world will stand before God with a dread sense of accountability to him as individuals, and of utter helplessness so far as any human power and authority are concerned.

Therefore, since there can be no rightful delegating of religious responsibility from one person to another — none that God will recognize — there can be no basis for such a thing as Christian civil government to stand on; for the basis of government, in a republic, is representation.

Civil government can indeed be religious,— the world knows this to its sorrow,— but it can not possibly be Christian.

This is not to say that civil government is against Christianity. The men who founded this nation, and who took care in so doing to separate the civil government from religion, were devout Christians. The government of these United States, which some seek to stigmatize as being irreligious and atheistic, has from the first been a haven of refuge for Christians from every land, who fled from the injustice imposed on them by state Christianity, so called.

Jesus Christ himself plainly distinguished between the

spheres of civil government and religion when in reply to the question of the Pharisees about paying tribute to Cæsar he said: "Render therefore unto Cæsar [the civil power] the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." Matt. 22:21. That his kingdom could not be united with any of the civil powers of earth he declared before Pilate, in the words, "My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews." John 18:36. The very best and most righteous kingdoms of earth fight in a just cause, and the cause of delivering Christ from the murderous mob who were bent on killing him was certainly a just one. But Christ called for no earthly aid, for his kingdom could not be established by any earthly agencies, whether good or bad.

The gospel which Christ came to earth to proclaim is Scripturally defined as "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." Rom. 1:16. The salvation which the gospel brings is salvation from sin. "Thou shalt call his name Jesus," said the angel to Mary, "for he shall save his people from their sins." Matt. 1:21. Note that it is from their own sins that people are to be saved by the gospel; no one is assured of salvation from the sins of others. Salvation from the wrong-doing of others may come from an earthly source; but salvation from one's own sins comes by faith alone. Faith is the foundation of all Christian experience. "Without faith it is impossible to please him [God]." Heb. 11:6.

These and many other passages of Scripture which might be cited show that God deals with people individually, and not in the mass or by organizations. The organization, whether it be the church or the nation, is affected through the individuals composing it. If the individual citizens are

righteous, the nation is righteous and will have the favor of heaven; while if the individuals are not right before God, by no possible means can the nation be righteous, whatever resolutions and protestations of goodness Congress or the legislatures might put forth. If national enactments made a nation righteous, we would have the absurdity of a righteous nation composed of wicked people; for it is perfectly evident that the people might be as wicked as the Pharisees who killed Christ, and at the same time have all the zeal of the Pharisees for outward demonstrations of piety. They might have the pride of Lucifer and the covetousness of Judas without being any the less ready to make and enforce religious enactments. And thus God would incur the impossible obligation of punishing the people for their sins, and at the same time rewarding the nation for its righteousness; or, in the end, of destroying the people and at the same time

Crater Lake, Oregon

saving the government! To such absurdities does this theory of a nation's moral personality lead us.

God punishes nations; but the punishment falls upon the individual people of the nation, not on the government. God punished this nation for the sin of slavery, by a terrible civil war. It was not the government that suffered, but the blighted homes that were left when the war was over.

God deals with individuals directly, and with organizations through the individuals composing them. In God's view, which is the only true view, the individual comes first, and all other things are of subordinate consequence. Civil government is ordained of God; but God did not first create a state and then make individuals to fit it; he made man, and man created the state for his own needs. And the Declaration of Independence is right in asserting that human governments exist for the purpose of preserving the inalienable rights with which all men have been endowed by their Creator, which rights are individual rights.

In other words, the state was created to serve man and not man to serve the state. This may not be the doctrine of kings, but it is, as stated, the only view which accords to man the position of preeminence assigned to him by his Creator.

Why is man of so much account in the sight of God? The answer is that man is created in the image of God. The value of man in the sight of his Creator can be estimated only in the light of the cross of Calvary. The infinite price there paid for man's redemption testifies that man, the individual, is of incomparably greater importance than anything else on earth. The death of Christ on the cross was not to save any government; these at best will exist but temporarily, and all of them, good and bad alike, will pass away at the sounding of the archangel's trump; but the beings

rescued by the sacrifice of Calvary will live eternally. Man and man only, of all earthly things, will be deemed worthy of immortality.

The conditions of salvation are that a man shall believe and be baptized. This fits the case of the individual, but it can not be applied to governments. Mark 16:16. The salvation that comes through the gospel is eternal salvation, and can have no reference to things which are of limited duration.

We have said that there can be no such thing as Christian civil government. There was in ancient times a theocracy, when God spake to Moses and Moses was the mouthpiece of God to the people. But such conditions as this do not exist to-day; albeit there are not wanting those who claim to be mouthpieces of the Deity to the world. We have been told that the preachers of to-day are the successors of the prophets; but we prefer that such a claim should be substantiated by their doing the works of the prophets, rather than by giving any exhibition of their ability in running the affairs of state.

Let us see now what would be involved in the attempt of a civil government to practise Christianity; for that is what a Christian civil government would have to do. A fundamental principle of Christianity is that when the offender repents he shall be forgiven. And Jesus on one occasion emphasized this feature of Christianity by telling his disciples that they should forgive the trespasser against them seven times in a day, if he came seven times and said, "I repent." Luke 17:3, 4. See also Matt. 18:21, 22.

Let us then imagine for a moment a court of law, with a prisoner before the court accused of theft. The prisoner admits the charge, but says to the court, "I repent"; and the court being now conducted on Christian principles, since

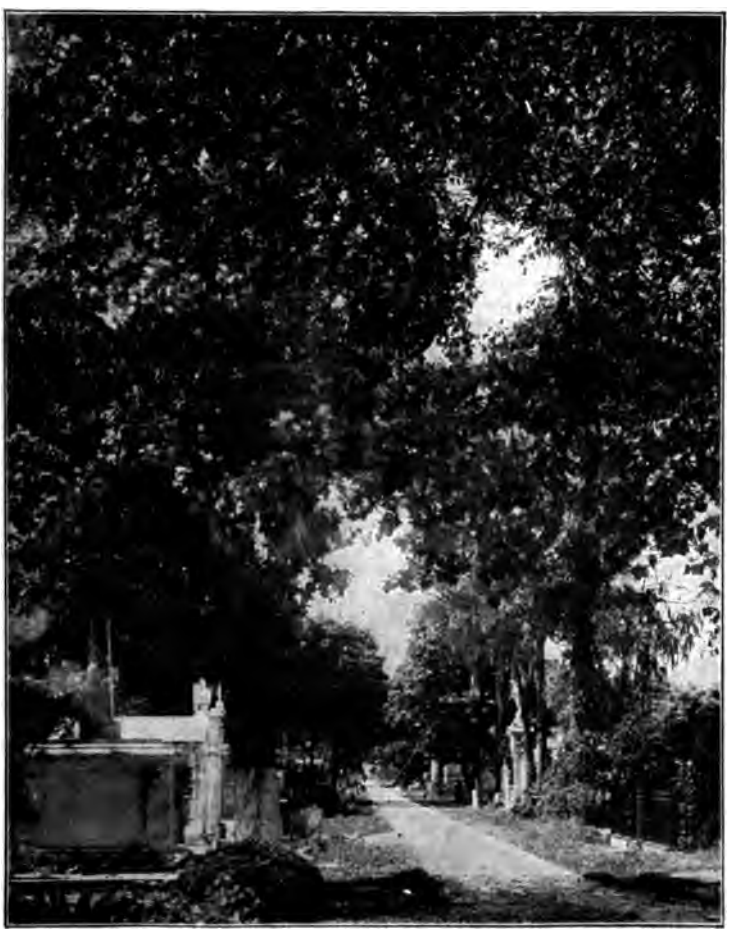
the civil government has become Christian, the state is bound to forgive him and he is turned loose. Soon he is brought in again, charged with assault; but again he says, "I repent," and the court is obliged to forgive him. Soon he is before the court again charged with murder; but on saying, "I repent," he is again turned loose. How long could this procedure go on before the people would be telling each other that something was wrong? Not very long, certainly.

Christianity is a wonderful thing,—a manifestation of wisdom and power which God alone has at his command. Its agencies are divine, and infinitely greater than any which this world can afford. Through the provisions of this divine system a wondrous thing is accomplished; namely, God can be just and at the same time justify the repentant transgressor. Rom. 3:26. He can show mercy without abating one jot of justice. He can pardon the transgressor so that he escapes the penalty of the broken law, without in any way dishonoring the law. But to do this required a plan which only infinite wisdom could devise and only infinite power carry into effect.

The penalty of transgression of God's law is death. "The wages of sin is death." Rom. 6:23. "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." Eze. 18:4. "Sin is the transgression of the law." 1 John 3:4. Justice demands the death of the transgressor. Therefore, if the government of God aimed at justice alone all sinners would be put to death. But this would defeat the purpose of the gospel; hence it is absolutely necessary, if the gospel is not to be nullified, that mercy should be shown the transgressor. But if the penalty of the law is set aside, is not the law dishonored? It would be, certainly, but for the mighty fact that Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, equal with the Father himself, died on Calvary for man's transgressions. The

death of such a being for the transgression of the law, affords the highest vindication of its holy and immutable character. Hence there is no dishonoring of God's law when the sinner who takes refuge in Christ receives pardon for his sins.

But while the divine government combines both justice



Old Creole Cemetery, New Orleans, La.

and mercy, civil government, on the other hand, aims at justice alone, and can do nothing else than this without becoming self-destructive, as shown in the illustration before given. While Christianity requires that the penalty of the divine law be not executed so long as probation shall last, all the interests of civil government demand that the laws of the government shall be enforced, and that without delay. Granting that the laws are just, the best civil government is that in which the laws are most fully put into effect,— that in which every violator of law is most certain to be apprehended and punished.

It is evident, then, that a truly Christian civil government is an impossibility; not because there is any antagonism between civil government and Christianity, but because civil government can not combine justice and mercy, as Christianity must do; and because it has no command of the superhuman agencies and resources by which alone Christianity can be administered. Christianity requires the mind and the resources of God. Civil government is on an altogether lower plane, having for its purpose not the salvation of souls in heaven, but only the preservation of natural rights on the earth.

The shallow statement is often made by the advocates of state religion that if a government is not Christian it must be anti-Christian. It would be far more correct to say that when a civil government undertakes to become Christian it must become anti-Christian. For a government must enforce its laws; and when it incorporates the law of God into its code and goes about to enforce that law and execute its penalty on the transgressor, it does that which the gospel is designed expressly to prevent; hence it must work counter to Christianity, as indeed every government which combines religion with the civil power has worked in the past.

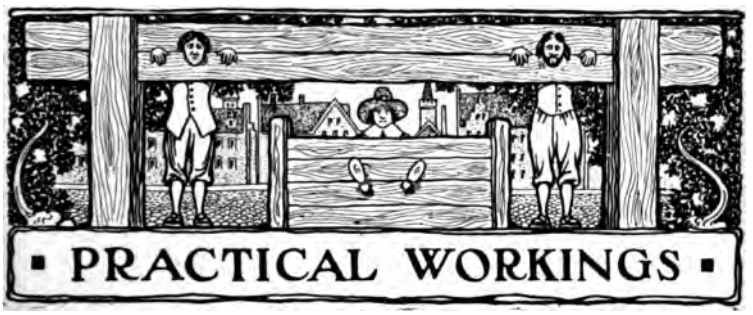
Civil government must be just; but justice alone is not Christianity. Yet justice is not against Christianity, for it is a part of Christianity. God is just, and so strictly so that any injustice on his part would be a denial of his Godhead. How shallow, then, to affirm that because a government is not Christian it must be anti-Christian or atheistic. The government of the United States is in harmony with Christianity, for it seeks to give justice to all classes of its citizens; and it certainly will not become more Christian when it denies to any of its people equal rights and privileges with others at the dictates of those who think that only men who believe a certain way are fit to participate in the affairs of state. When a government becomes "Christian" at the expense of justice, it becomes unchristian.

"Christian civil government" is only a name for a union of church and state, or of religion and the state, which is practically the same thing. For when the state becomes Christian, why should it not unite with the Christian church? And who, if not the Christian church, so called, will run the state at that time? Who will say what constitutes Christianity for the state, if not those who define it for the church? There easily can be, and if affairs in this nation continue in their present course, there certainly will be, a union of religion with the civil government in this country, and that at no distant date. But the religion of that union will not be Christianity; and in character and results the union will not be essentially different from the church-and-state unions which have cursed mankind in the past.

The fruit of religious intolerance,— of coercion of the conscience by law,— never grew upon a good tree. Whatever logic may be invoked, whatever passages of Scripture twisted, to prove that one class of people may rightfully define and enforce religious duties for another class, or that the ma-

jority may rightfully coerce the minority, however small, in religious matters, the fact that such coercion appears as the outcome is conclusive proof that the system from which it proceeds is unchristian and un-American, a curse and not a blessing to both state and church.

"Down Upon the Suwanee River," Florida



CHAPTER XIX

HOW the principles set forth in the foregoing pages operate in actual application has been shown in events that have taken place in Arkansas, Tennessee, and other States, which reveal the practical workings of a Sunday law whenever and wherever it may be secured.

The attention of the people in some places in Arkansas was being called to the importance of observing the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath according to the fourth commandment of the Decalogue, by the advocates of that faith. As converts to that view and practise began to appear, strong opposition was excited on the part of some, as it has been in other places, and as truth has always excited opposition ever since error has endeavored to usurp control over the minds of men. How far the action which followed was owing to this opposition, we do not say. We only state the facts, and leave the reader to draw his own conclusions.

In the winter of 1884-85, a bill was introduced into the Legislature of the State to abolish the clause in the existing Sunday law which exempted from its operation those who conscientiously observed the seventh day. Up to this time the laws of that State had been comparatively liberal in this respect. But now a petition was presented that the exemption clause be stricken out, bringing all alike, without regard

to their religious faith or practise, under subjection to the enactment to keep the first day of the week as the Sabbath. The petition claimed to have been called out by the fact that certain Jews in Little Rock, regarding the seventh day as the Sabbath, kept open stores and transacted their usual business on the first day of the week. Considering the fact that their places of business were open also on the seventh day, this brought them into unfair competition with the other merchants of the place. There was certainly no necessity for a change of the law to meet this difficulty; for the law exempted those only who conscientiously observed the seventh day; and these Jews, by keeping open places of business on the seventh day, showed that there was no such conscientious observance on their part, and consequently that they could not justly claim the exemption of the law. But ostensibly on this ground the petition was urged, and the repeal of the exempting clause secured.

What was the result? We have not learned that the aforesaid Jews in Little Rock, or any other part of the State, were molested; that railroads, hotel-keepers, livery men, or those engaged in any like vocations, were in anywise restrained. But those persons above referred to, who, from a Christian point of view, had commenced to observe the seventh day in preference to the first; who were not engaged in such business as brought them into competition with others; who, having conscientiously observed the seventh day, proposed to go quietly, soberly, and industriously about their lawful business on the first day of the week,—these soon found that they were not overlooked. Warrants were promptly issued for the arrest of some five or six of these, one of them, J. W. Scoles, a minister, whose offense was that he was engaged one Sunday in the boisterous work of painting a meeting-house erected by his people!

The trial of these persons came off at Fayetteville, Ark., the first week in November, 1885. In making up the indictment, an observer of the seventh day was called in to testify against his brethren. The following examination substantially took place:—

"Do you know any one about here who is violating the Sunday law?"

"Yes."

"Who?"

"The Frisco railroad is running several trains each way on that day."

"Do you know of any others?"

"Yes."

"Who?"

"The hotels of this place are open and doing a full run of business on Sunday as on other days."

"Any others?"

"Yes; the druggists and barbers."

"Any others?"

"Yes; the livery-stable men do more business on that day than on any other."

As these were not the parties the court was after, the question was finally asked directly, "Do you know of any Seventh-day Adventists who have worked on Sunday?" Ascertaining that some of this class had been guilty of labor on that day, indictments were issued for five persons accordingly.

At the trial, the defendants employed the best counsel obtainable — Judge Walker, ex-member of the United States Senate. The points he made before the court were that the law was unconstitutional,—

First, because it was an infringement of religious freedom, or the right of conscience, inasmuch as it compelled

In Jail for the "Crime" of Obeying the Fourth Commandment of the Decalogue by Working Six Days of the Week and Resting on the Seventh

This is no fanciful picture, but shows a scene which has many times been enacted in recent Sunday-law prosecutions in this country. During 1895 and 1896, no less than seventy-three seventh-day observers were prosecuted in the United States under the Sunday laws, twenty-seven of whom suffered imprisonments of from 5 to 129 days, and nine of whom were made to serve 54 days each in the chain-gang.

men to keep as the Sabbath a day which their conscience and the Bible taught them was not the Sabbath;

Secondly, because it was an infringement of the right of property, taking from seventh-day keepers one-sixth part of their time; and the time of a laboring man being his property, the law was in its nature a robber; and —

Thirdly, because it took away a right that God had given — the right to labor six days and to rest one.

All this was overruled by the judge, who charged that the law rested *equally* upon all, requiring that all men should rest *one* day, and that the first day of the week; which requirement rested alike on the Methodists, the Baptists, the Congregationalists, the Sabbatarians, the Jews, worldlings, and infidels; and if our religion required us to keep another day, that was a price we paid to our religion, and with that the State had nothing to do. He ruled, moreover, that no one had a right to set up his conscience against the law of the land.

From these denials of the rights which the Author of their existence has given to all men,— namely, their right to labor six days, and to rest on the seventh, and the right to obey God rather than man, when man's requirements conflict with his,— the counsel for the defendants of course took appeal; and the case went up to the supreme court of the State, to be tried in May, 1886. Others were indicted during this year till the number of prosecutions reached twenty-one.

During the same time a similar work went on in Tennessee, where seventh-day views had been more extensively agitated. Eight persons in that State were prosecuted for Sunday labor. Three of the number were convicted on a charge of "flagrant violation of the Christian Sabbath." The charge was preferred by a professor of religion; but two of the men were quietly plowing in their fields a full half mile from the house of the one who lodged complaint against them. In these cases a fine of $20 and costs was imposed on each. Appeal was taken to the supreme court of the State, which convened in Jackson, in May, 1886, the parties having meanwhile to give bail of $250 each for their appearance in court at that time.

In regard to the state of public sentiment in Tennessee on this question, S. Fulton, a minister, then of Springville, Henry Co., Tenn., wrote:—

"Public sentiment is fast changing here in favor of Sunday legislation. Some seven years ago, a Mr. Thomason, a lawyer of Paris, Tenn., in consulting with our brethren on the question of Sunday labor, advised them to pursue their work on Sunday, claiming that they could not be harmed for it, as the Constitution granted them that right. Since then he has professed religion and joined the Presbyterian Church, and now says that we must quit work on the Christian Sabbath or suffer punishment by law; and there is no avoiding it."

Speaking of the trial, he says:—

These five persons were arrested and tried in court at Greenville, S. C., Aug. 3, 1909, for having picked strawberries on Sunday, May 2, of that year, "against the peace and dignity of the State of South Carolina." Imagine the peace and dignity of a State being disturbed by the picking of strawberries!

"In the court-room, the attorney for the defendant asked the question if Sunday was the Sabbath; and the judge ruled it out as not a proper question; neither would he permit a statement to be made why our brethren worked on Sunday. In his charge to the jury, it was easily seen that he was determined to have them punished. The jury had hardly left the room when they returned a verdict of 'Guilty,' and a fine of $20 and costs was imposed on each. Our brethren then appealed to the supreme court, in the hope that some justice might be shown them there."

The supreme court in all these cases confirmed the decision of the lower court. In Arkansas those who were convicted paid their fines. But the obnoxious law was repealed in January, 1887. In Tennessee the victims of the persecutions served out their sentences in jail. A visitor of the same faith describes the case in these words:—

"The brethren, knowing that they had done no evil, and feeling that to pay their hard-earned money on such a charge

would be to put a premium on injustice, decided to go to jail, and suffer for the truth's sake. The jailer manifested a spirit of kindness, taking them home to supper with his own family, and otherwise doing all the law allowed him to do for their comfort. Being desirous of seeing the jail, I was permitted to enter. From the hall we entered the rooms occupied by the prisoners. The one our brethren occupy is about 8x10 ft. Upon the floor were mattresses made of sea-grass, with blankets for covering; but no pillows nor bed linen, nor a piece of furniture of any kind. In this apartment our brethren are placed, to remain nearly six months, for serving God according to their own consciences and in obedience to the Scriptures. Is it any wonder the prophet, as he was shown the acts of this government, said that it spake like a dragon? Can our opponents say longer that observers of the seventh day will never be persecuted? To deny it to be religious persecution would be to deny the plainest facts in the case. If it is not, why do business men, hack drivers, livery-stable keepers, saloon-keepers, hunters, fishers, etc., do whatever they please on Sunday, and yet go free, while these men who conscientiously keep the seventh day and then go quietly about their work on Sunday, are torn from their homes, deprived of their freedom, and imprisoned?"

In the findings of the supreme court of Arkansas, confirming the decision of the lower court, the following sentiments were advanced:—

"It is said that every day in the week is observed by some one of the religious sects of the world as a day of rest; and if the power is denied to fix by law Sunday as such a day, the same reason would prevent the selection of any day; but the power of the Legislature to select the day as a holiday is everywhere conceded. The State from the beginning has appropriated Sunday as such. . . . The law which imposes the penalty operates upon all alike, and interferes with no man's religious belief; for in limiting the prohibition to secular pursuits, it leaves religious profession and worship free.

"The appellant's argument, then, is reduced to this: that because he conscientiously believes that he is permitted by the law of God to labor on Sunday, he may violate with impunity a statute declaring it illegal to do so. But a man's religion can

not be accepted as a justification for committing an overt act made criminal by the law of the land. If the law operates harshly, as laws sometimes do, the remedy is in the hands of the Legislature. It is not in the province of the judiciary to pass upon the wisdom and policy of legislation; that is for the members of the legislative department; and the only appeal from their determination is to the constituency."

In relation to the foregoing, it may be remarked that the assertion that all days are kept by different classes, and therefore the State could not fix upon any day as a holiday without taking somebody's Sabbath, is not true. Only three days are regarded as sacred days. These are the Sabbath of the Lord, and the two thieves between which it is crucified — the Friday of Mohammed and the Sunday of the pope.

This case illustrates the practical workings of the system of state religion with which this country is now threatened; but let not the reader think that it is the only illustration of the kind. A multitude of others might be added. Let it suffice to state that during 1895 and 1896, no less than seventy-six Seventh-day Adventists were prosecuted under the Sunday laws in the United States and Canada. Some of these were fined, and thirty served terms of imprisonment, some in jails and others in chain-gangs, these terms aggregating 1,144 days, or nearly three and one-half years for a single person. Within more recent years such prosecutions have been less frequent, not being sustained by public sentiment; but the advocates of governmental religion have been working earnestly to mold public sentiment into harmony with the spirit of such prosecutions, and to prepare the machinery of church and state to do effective work when the time shall come to coerce dissenters into submission. This is being done by such means as the securing of a religious amendment to the Constitution, the confederation of

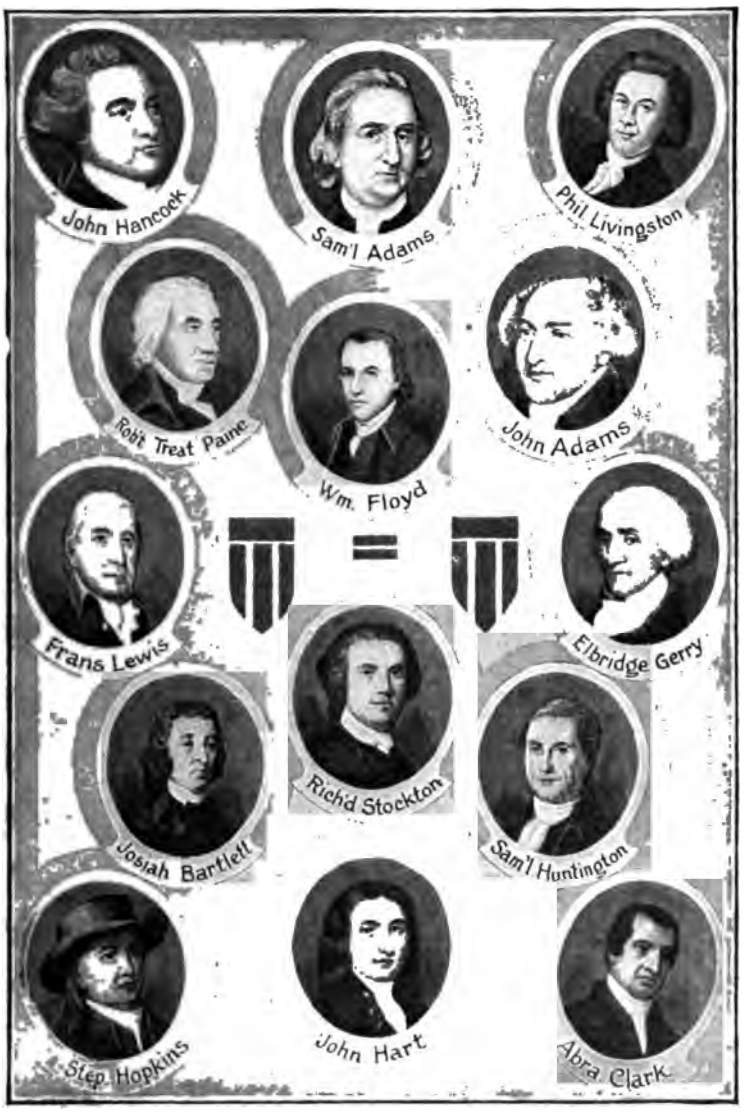
the churches, and such enactments by Congress as will commit the federal government to the policy of religious legislation. A long step in this direction has been taken by Congress in the passage of a measure prepared and urged by religionists, compelling Sunday-closing of first-class and second-class post-offices. Of the forces behind this legislation, the New York *Times* of Aug. 28, 1912, said:—

"Dr. George W. Grannis, general secretary of the Lord's Day Association of the United States, who has for three years been urging the passage of the law forbidding Sunday delivery of mail, resented yesterday the statement that the measure had been rushed through Congress as a scarcely-noticed rider to the appropriation bill. It was the result, he said, of urgent appeals to Congress, made by many ministerial associations interested in doing away with all but the most necessary work on Sundays, and has been passed only after careful investigation and indorsement by various postmasters and postal authorities and many public hearings."

The Lord's Day Alliance, National Reform Association, and allied religious forces have in recent years concentrated their efforts on the securing of a Sunday law for the District of Columbia; not because Sunday is not already observed in the District quite as well as in those parts of the country where the most drastic Sunday laws are in force, but because they want the *influence* of an act of Congress in favor of their cause. They are handicapped in their efforts to secure and enforce Sunday laws in the States, by the fact that the national government has set no example in this line of legislation. During the sixtieth session of Congress eleven bills were introduced in the two houses providing for a more rigid observance of Sunday in the District, and no session of the National Legislature ever progresses far before some bills of this character are brought forward. Thus far all have failed of enactment, though each house of Congress has at different times demonstrated its willingness to

sanction them. This continual defeat of these measures has been a puzzle to those who are urging them, knowing as they do the strong forces which are behind them, and the numerical insignificance of their opponents. The explanation is that truth and justice, and the God from whom these proceed, are not on the side of religious legislation. The attempt will doubtless succeed ere long, but the restraining hand of Providence will bar its way until through the persistent agitation of the question the truth shall have been brought clearly to the surface and set before the eyes of those in the high places of the nation.

The Capitol at Washington



Portraits of Signers of the Declaration of Independence

Portraits of Signers of the Declaration of Independence

Portraits of Signers of the Declaration of Independence

Portraits of Signers of the Declaration of Independence

CHAPTER XX

INVENTIONS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE changes that have taken place in the brief hundred years last passed, and the revolutions which have changed the whole aspect of the methods of life and living, are very graphically stated in the introduction of a volume called the "Progress of Invention in the Nineteenth Century." From these pages we transcribe a few words:—

"To appreciate them [the wonders of this age] let us briefly contrast the conditions of to-day with those of a hundred years ago. This is no easy task, for the comparison not only involves the experiences of two generations, but it is like the juxtaposition of a star with the noonday sun, whose superior brilliancy obliterates the lesser light.

"But reverse the wheels of progress, and let us make a quick run of one hundred years into the past, and what are our experiences? Before we get to our destination, we find the wheels themselves beginning to thump and jolt, and the passage becomes more difficult, more uncomfortable, and much slower. We are no longer gliding along in a luxurious palace-car behind a magnificent locomotive, traveling on steel rails, at sixty miles an hour; but we find ourselves nearing the beginning of the nineteenth century in a rickety, rumbling, dusty stage-coach. Pause! and consider the change for a moment in some of its broader aspects. First, let us examine the present more closely, for the average busy man, never looking behind him for comparisons, does not fully appreciate, or estimate at its real value, the age in which he lives. There are to-day [statistics of 1889] 445,064

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A Steam Gang Plow of the Present Day, and the Plow Used by Daniel Webster (shown above X mark)

miles of railway tracks in the world. This would build seventeen different railway tracks, of two rails each, around the entire world, or would girdle mother earth with thirty-four belts of

Copyright, International News Service, N. Y.

Aeroplane and Automobile in a Race

steel. If extended in straight lines, it would build a track of two rails to the moon, and more than a hundred thousand miles beyond it. The United States has nearly half of the entire mileage of the world, and gets along with 36,716 locomotives, nearly as many passenger coaches, and more than a million and a quarter freight cars, which latter, if coupled together, would make nearly three continuous trains reaching across the American continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. The movement of passenger trains is equivalent to dispatching thirty-seven trains per day around the world, and the freight train movement is in like manner equal to dispatching fifty-three trains a day around the world. Add to this the railway business controlled by other countries, and one gets some idea of how far the stage-coach has been left behind. To-day we eat supper in one city, and breakfast in another so many hundreds of miles east or west that we are compelled to set our watches to the new meridian of longitude in order to keep our engagement.

"But railroads and steam-cars constitute only one of the stirring elements of modern civilization. As we make the backward run of one hundred years, we have passed by many milestones of progress. Let us see if we can count some of them

Photo by Brown Bros., N Y.

Wilbur Wright, Who With His Brother Orville, Invented the Aeroplane or Flying Machine. The first successful machine was produced in 1905.

as they disappear behind us. We quickly lose the telephone, phonograph, and graphophone. We no longer see the cable-cars or electric railways. The electric lights have gone out. The telegraph disappears. The sewing-machine, reaper, and thrasher have passed away, and so also have all india-rubber goods. We no longer see any photographs, photo-engravings, photolithographs, or snap-shot cameras. The wonderful octuple web perfecting printing-press, printing, pasting, cutting, folding, and counting newspapers at the rate of 96,000 per hour, or 1,600 per minute, shrinks at the beginning of the century into an insignificant prototype. We lose all planing and wood-working machinery, and with it the endless variety of sashes, doors, blinds, and furniture in unlimited variety. There are no gas-engines, no passenger-elevators, no asphalt pavement, no steam fire-engine, no triple-expansion steam-engine, no Giffard injector, no celluloid articles, no barbed-wire fences, no time-locks for safes, no self-binding harvesters, no oil- or gas-wells, no ice machines nor cold storage. We lose air-engines, stem-winding watches, cash-registers and cash-carriers, the great suspension bridges and tunnels, the Suez Canal, iron-frame buildings, monitors and heavy ironclads, revolvers, torpedoes, magazine guns, and Gatling guns, linotype machines, all practical typewriters, all Pasteurizing, knowledge of microbes or disease germs, and sanitary plumbing, water-gas, soda-water fountains,

Photo by Brown Bros., N. Y.
Orville Wright

air-brakes, coal-tar dyes and medicines, nitroglycerine, dynamite and guncotton, dynamo-electric machines, aluminum ware, electric locomotives, Bessemer steel with its wonderful developments, ocean cables, enameled iron ware, Welsbach gas-burners, electric storage batteries, the cigarette machine, hydraulic dredges, the roller mills, middlings purifiers and patent-process flour, tin-can machines, car-couplings, compressed-air drills, sleeping-cars, the dynamite gun, the McKay shoe machine, the circular knitting machine, the Jacquard loom, wood-pulp for paper, fire-alarms, the use of anesthetics in surgery, oleomargarin, street sweepers, Artesian wells, friction matches, steam hammers, electroplating, nail machines, false teeth, artificial limbs and eyes, the spectroscope, the kinetoscope or moving pictures, acetylene gas, X-ray apparatus, horseless carriages, and — but, enough! the reader exclaims, and indeed it is not pleasant to contemplate the loss. The negative conditions of that period extend into such an appalling void that we stop short, shrinking from the thought of what it would mean to modern civilization to eliminate from its life these potent factors of its existence."

In addition to all this, among the more remarkable of still more recent devices and inventions may be mentioned the coin weighing and counting machine, the submarine boat, wireless telegraphy and the wireless telephone, and the aeroplane or flying machine. For scouting purposes in war

Photo by G. V. Buck

United States Wireless Station at Radio, Va., the Largest in the World

the aeroplane has demonstrated its wonderful utility, and no nation now considers its armament complete without a "fleet" of these wonderful machines.

CLOSING REFLECTIONS

Before leaving this subject, a few contemplative remarks in reference to the whole question may not be out of place. The subject is of such magnitude, and the issues involved are of such momentous importance, that nothing pertaining to them can be considered redundant until the whole situation is repeatedly impressed upon the mind and every one

Photo by G. V. Buck

Receiving Room of Wireless Station, Radio, Va.

has a clear and vivid idea of the crisis into which we are about to plunge. It is a "world question" to which in this work we have invited, and again invite, attention. It belongs to the same category which includes the creation of the world itself, the world's redemptive progress and history, and now the last change which is to befall this planet,— this planet, the chief orb with which we are acquainted,— an orb made conspicuous by having received one visit from the Son of God, bearing upon his divine bosom the load of our sin and shame,— the orb on which the cross that shocked and thrilled the whole universe — angels, principalities, and powers — has been upreared,— an orb soon to be made more conspicuous still by a second visit from the Son of man, robed with the power and grandeur of the Lord of all, in the glory of his Father and of the holy angels.

The line that we are soon to pass is the line of eternity, behind which will forever drift away the trials and conflicts of a sinful probation, and beyond which will open the glorious vistas of everlasting day to those who have made themselves ready, and have made room for the King in his beauty.

The object of these pages has been to quicken a desire in every heart to be able to finish his course with joy, and the design of the facts and arguments presented has been to aid in this work of self-examination and spiritual progress. It is sometimes said that such subjects as these belong to the dry formulas of theory, and lack practical value. A greater mistake could not be made. Nothing will stir one up more deeply to make a practical preparation for the coming of the Son of man than a convincing array of evidences that that coming is right at hand. For, as the apostle John says, "We know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is. And every man that hath this hope in him [in Christ] *purifieth himself,* even as he [Christ] is pure." 1 John 3:2, 3. That is the ultimate object in every case: to lead men to become pure as Christ is pure; and all who do this will be ready to hail him with joy when he appears, and share in the salvation he comes to bring. Heb. 9:28.

When we consider that there is One who ruleth in the kingdoms of men, and when we look at his past course in dealing with nations, according to his own statements, and the plain declarations of history, the query arises, Why should he not speak of the United States of America, this last unique development of human power, as the human race has now completed its circuit around the earth? When the thrilling point is reached, as it is now reached, when this gospel of the kingdom can be preached in all the world, as a sign that the end is the next event in order (Matt. 24:

14), and there are no further nationalities to be developed for it to go to, should we not recognize that as the time when the great Author of prophecy would have something to say concerning the last nation to appear? Without this, his course would seem to lack uniformity, and his work be incomplete. But no such reflections can be laid to his charge. With this, a broad basis is laid on which to build. In these premises, as a postulate, all phases of the argument center, and from them all conclusions flow. They will bear stating again and again.

A prophecy is uttered, setting forth its great truths by symbols, for one of which, looking the wide earth over, we find no possible location except our own land. This symbol is independent and unique. It can not possibly represent a government set forth by any other symbol. If the symbol referred to does not apply to our own country, then it follows that symbolically the prophecy is at fault, describing a country or government with no symbol to apply to it, and having a symbol with no object to answer to it. This would be again a reflection on the prophecies which no friend of the Bible could for a moment tolerate; and no application which necessitates this, can for a single instant be accepted.

But not only is the prophecy hedged about with these limitations, but the time when the power symbolized should make its appearance is definitely stated. The United States arose at precisely that point of time. The nature of the government, too, first gentle and lamblike, the defender of equal rights, both civil and religious, is noted in the prophecy; and this also we find in America, but we find it nowhere else. It is not found in any other nation that now exists, or has existed under the whole wide heaven, so far as history has at any time stated. These considerations bind the

application of the prophecy about with bands of iron. Not a pin or rivet can be moved. Let this point be fixed securely in the mind. The Lord God of the prophets has spoken about America. He has spoken especially for the good of this land, where the closing rays of the gospel beam forth in all their intensity, as well as for the good of all lands, that he may show an object-lesson to the world of the fulfilment of his Word.

It may be said, perhaps, that there are other nations of more account in the world than America, nations having longer chronological records, a larger number of inhabitants, greater historical volume, more enduring and long-continued customs and methods, a more settled and molding influence on larger masses of people. This, in these respects, may all be so, but this does not alter the fact that here is a nation of an unequaled profession, set forth for a special purpose, in a certain place, at a particular time, to stand in the very focus of the stirring events of the closing hours of time, raised up and developed by the special providence and manifest design of God to accomplish its special work in connection with his truth and the proclamation of his gospel, as the world closes its long career of sin, and the plan of redemption, planted on the ruins of the fall, growing in clearness and strength for six thousand years, shall open into the living blossom of eternity.

These points all stand as pillars on immovable bases; but there are more stirring features still; for the prophet describes the visible expansion of this power before the eyes of the beholder. It grows up like a silent seed in a quiet field, and, far outside the turmoil and strife of aggressive conflict, expands into empire. Prophecy notes this point, and history, describing it, unconsciously in the very language of the prediction, responds thereto. It has multiplied

its territory till it has outstripped all other nations in rapidity of territorial growth. In population it has grown from three to ninety millions in a little more than one hundred years. It largely supplies the world with cereals, cotton, gold and silver, coal, oil, machinery,— the bones and sinews of industrial life and commerce,— till its exports now overrun the billion dollar mark. It has revolutionized domestic commercial intercourse by its advancements in the arts, sciences, inventions, lighting, locomotion by sea and land, discoveries and improvements of all kinds. Gold has multiplied till we are the richest nation on the globe. We have alarmed Europe by our invasion of its industries, and have become the leading commercial nation of the world. Can any one intelligently answer the question, What do these things mean? except on the ground that America is a subject of prophecy, and is rapidly filling out the prophetic outline which has been prescribed for her? The full appreciation of this fact should not fail to be realized.

But do you say that while this part of the picture is so abundantly fulfilled, there are other features which can not appear? for the prophet declares that this symbolic beast spake as a dragon; and that speaking as a dragon can not mean anything less than exercising a dragonic spirit, and manifesting persecution, oppression, and wrong? and that it can not be that in this land of liberty and liberality such things can occur? But remember that a symbol can not fulfil the very specifications ascribed to it without being the power concerning which the prophecy has spoken; and hence, the voice of God is behind its acts, not necessarily in approval, but in declaration of the facts. The United States is the power in question; and prophecy is not deceived nor misled by its profession. While it looked so innocent and mild, the prophet heard it speak, and the voice was that of a dragon.

Would not any move in this direction, in a course so improbable, unnatural, and unreasonable, clinch the application, and demonstrate unmistakably that the correct view of what is to come is presented,—"He spake as a dragon"?

Testimony has been given, showing how, like a peal of thunder from a clear sky, a sentiment has sprung up, as mysterious and uncalled-for as the birth of sin itself, that civil law must come to the rescue of religion, and the power of God give place to human legislation in his work. An idea suddenly seized bigoted and prejudiced minds that a supposed institution of the law of God, a pseudo-Sabbath, must be propped up by decisions of courts, and forced upon the people, against their will, by fines and imprisonments. Can it not be seen that that would be a death-blow to freedom of conscience, the destruction of religious liberty, the turning back to all the darkness, cruelty, and oppression of the Dark Ages, and the opening of the door to the fulfilment of the most startling and repulsive features of the prophecy? Can any one longer doubt the coming accomplishment of the evil movements foretold?

Consider further, that these sentiments are not the spasmodic ebullition of the cranky ideas of a single individual; but they have taken possession of multitudes of men, who have banded together into associations and federations devoted to the purpose of making such changes in the government as will secure the ends proposed. Is not this marvelous? Can it be accounted for only on the ground that we have reached the time predicted, when darkness covers the earth, and gross darkness the people, and that this prophecy is about to be accomplished?

But it may be objected further that such a change can not take place in this country without overturning the foundations of our government, and repudiating the principles

Photo by Harris & Ewing
Samuel Gompers
President American Federation of Labor

upon which it is established. Very true; and stranger still to say, the way is even now being prepared for just such changes in the government to take place. First, the Declaration of Independence, that glorious egis of human liberty, is discarded. Its everlasting truth, that governments d e r i v e their just powers from the consent of the governed, is denounced as "the old Philadelphia lie," by these reformers. They would have it that governments derive all their powers directly from God, said powers to be interpreted and applied by his agents, *alias* themselves!

Secondly, the Constitution of the United States, a document which has been described by a leading organ of opinion in England as "the most sacred political document in the world," has been repudiated. It has been denied the privilege of following the flag. The United States has shown itself willing to extend its jurisdiction over subject peoples, while at the same time denying to them the assurances of civil and religious rights which the Constitution guarantees. This is national apostasy; and it ought to make the nerves of every intelligent man tremble with apprehension as he contemplates the inevitable results of such a course. An-

cient prophecy foretold it, modern prophecy applies and repeats it, and says: "When Protestantism shall stretch her hand across the gulf to grasp the hand of the Roman power, when she shall reach over the abyss to clasp hands with Spiritualism, when, under the influence of this threefold union, our country shall repudiate every principle of its Constitution as a Protestant and Republican government, and shall make provision for the propagation of papal falsehoods and delusions, then we may know that the time has come for the marvelous working of Satan, and that the end is near. As the approach of the Roman armies was a sign to the disciples of the impending destruction of Jerusalem, so may this apostasy be a sign to us that the limit of God's forbearance is reached, and the measure of our nation's iniquity is full, and that the angel of mercy is about to take her flight never to return."

Before this was penned, it had been published in a book called "The Great Controversy" that such a work would be done, the Protestant churches being the leading spirits in it. The reader can judge how fast the prediction is being fulfilled. Steps have been taken, and sentiments expressed, at which all people, only a generation or two back, would have stood aghast! The Declaration of Independence has been defamed and discarded; the Constitution of the United States, that "most sacred political document among men," has been repudiated and ignored. The defection is coming; the apostasy is on. Can any one longer doubt that all the wicked things the prophecy reveals will surely follow?

The lingering thought may remain, reluctant to leave, that men can not give way to such folly, and it will not come out so bad after all. Listen to another instalment of facts. The National Reform Association, as already noticed, led out in the move to bring about a state of things

which would be the nightmare of a strange specter in this country — the virtual union of church and state. Was it not sufficiently startling that right at the time when prophecy called for it, such a movement should burst forth, not simply from one man, but from enough to form an association, some of them men of standing, whose influence was a power for evil? Strange in its beginning, its growth is still stranger. By its growth we mean the accession of other bodies which have united with it, and become its allies.

1. The first of these was the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The action which committed this organization to this movement was taken in 1885.

2. In 1888, at a convention of Methodist clergymen, the American Sabbath Union was formed in New York City, and it became a notable ally of the National Reform Association. This Sabbath Union organization soon embraced the Presbyterian Church, North and South, the Baptist Union, the United Presbyterian Church, the Congregational Church, the Methodist Protestant Church, and a dozen other religious bodies. In 1892 it boasted that it had secured Sunday legislation from the legislatures of six States.

3. The third combination that became an ally of the National Reform Association was the papacy. It came up in this way. The National Reform Association, at its national convention in 1884, made overtures to the Catholic Church, saying that the time had come to make repeated advances, and that they would gladly accept cooperation in any form in which they (the Catholics) might be willing to grant it. (*Christian Statesman,* Dec. 11, 1884.) In 1888, Cardinal Gibbons indorsed by letter the National Reform effort to secure religious legislation from Congress, through the Blair Sunday-rest bill. And in 1889, the Catholic Lay Congress, held in Baltimore, made this declaration, which constitutes

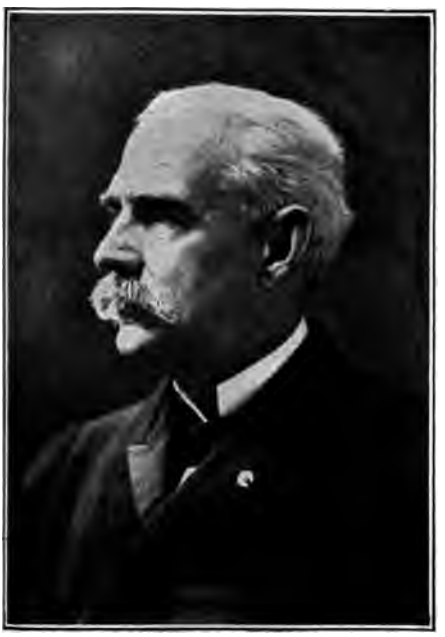
a direct reply to the National Reform overtures: "There are many issues on which Catholics could come together with non-Catholics, and shape *civil legislation* for the public weal. In spite of rebuff and injustice, and overlooking zealotry, we would seek an alliance with non-Catholics for proper Sunday observance."— *Chicago Inter-Ocean, Nov. 13, 1889.*

4. In 1891 there was organized the Massachusetts Sabbath Association, which a few years later had developed into the "New England Sabbath Protective League," an active association publishing a monthly organ, *The Defender,* supported by Senator Hoar and other influential men of New England.

5. In the same year (1891) the great Christian Endeavor Society, in its convention at Minneapolis, practically indorsed the National Reform movement, and has ever since been active in supporting Sunday legislation.

6. Out of the Christian Endeavor movement grew, in 1896, "Christian Citizenship," which has been an active ally of the National Reform movement ever since.

7. In addition to all these, there have been formed within recent years the Federal Council of Churches; the Catholic Federation; the Lord's Day Alliance; the Woman's National Sabbath [Sunday] Alliance; the Sunday League of America; the Religious Citizenship League; and the Reform Bureau at Washington, D. C., presided over by Dr. W. F. Crafts. All these organizations stand together, and as we have seen, Protestants stand with Catholics in support of legislation for the observance of Sunday. The New York Sabbath Committee, organized in 1857, is the pioneer in soliciting the cooperation of Rome in enforcing Sunday observance. The secretary, W. W. Atterbury, D. D., says: "It aims to combine the efforts of all good citizens,— Protestants, Roman Catholics, and others,— in protection of the day," etc.



Rev. F. E. Clark
President of World's Christian Endeavor Society

8. *Religious measures pressed upon Congress.* "Following the attempt to make Congress commit itself to Sunday legislation in the matter of Sunday mails, in 1829-30, a long period intervened before another religious measure sought the indorsement of the National Legislature. The rise of the National Reform Association, in 1863, was the event which led to the next attempt of this kind, and indeed to every attempt of this nature that has since been made. In 1874 this association felt itself strong enough to address the government directly, and accordingly petitioned Congress to so amend the Constitution as to put into that instrument a recognition of God as the nation's ruler, and make his revealed will the supreme law in civil affairs."

This petition was referred to a committee, and that committee reported that the framers of the Constitution had purposely omitted such recognition, and that such a change in the fundamental law would be an uncalled-for and dangerous innovation. The petition consequently failed; and the reformers, having thus felt the pulse of Congress, temporarily retired from the field of legislation, not to abandon their purpose, but only to wait for a more favorable opportunity.

9. By the year 1888, the reformers were reenforced by the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the National Prohibition party, the W. C. T. U. leading. Attack was again made on Congress by a petition to suppress Sunday trains, Sunday mails, and Sunday military duties. In May of the same year a Sunday-rest bill was introduced into the Senate by Senator Blair, of New Hampshire, forbidding labor on Sunday in the District of Columbia. Almost simultaneously with this, and from the same source, came a joint resolution calling for an amendment to the Constitution which would require each State "to teach in the public schools the principles of the Christian religion." Every pressure possible was brought to bear upon Congress in favor of these bills, especially the Sunday-rest bill. One of the tricks resorted to was this: Cardinal Gibbons indorsed the bill, and on the strength of his indorsement all the Catholics of the country, 14,000,000, were at once counted as supporters of the bill. The fraud did not work, and the bills were lost.

10. In January, 1890, the reform combination came forward again with a Sunday-rest bill, but it was toned down to be much less comprehensive than the Blair bill. It was promoted by Congressman W. C. P. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, and afterward by Congressman Morse, of Massachusetts. But it failed to be enacted into law. Still the attack upon Congress was kept up, with an occasional omen of success, till the time of —

THE COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.

The question then became a burning one, whether the fair should be kept open on Sunday or not. A Columbian Sunday Association had been organized in 1891, expressly to work for the Sunday closing of the fair. The Columbian Commission were not in favor of an open fair; but what the church wished especially to obtain was a recognition of

Mrs. Lilliarl M. N. Stevens
Successor to Miss Francis Willard as President of the W. C. T. U. Died April 6, 1914

Sunday by act of the National Legislature. It was accomplished in this way: Congress was expected to appropriate $2,500,000 in aid of the fair; and this gift might be made conditional on the Sunday closing. Hence to this end the Sunday closers bent all their energies. They found champions in Senator Hawley, of Connecticut, and Senator Quay, of Pennsylvania. The latter in his argument had occasion to call for the reading in the Senate, of the fourth commandment, spoken by the Creator on Mount Sinai. The Sunday-closing proviso had already passed the House; and under the lead of Senators Hawley and Quay, it secured the concurrence of the Senate. Soon afterward the bill received the signature of President Harrison, and thus became a national law. Thus Congress had at last capitulated. The National Legislature had distinctly committed itself to the cause of Sunday observance. It had decreed that the Columbian Exposition be closed on Sunday, and thus be made to observe what is called "The Christian Sabbath." By causing the fourth commandment to be read and applying it to Sunday, it had declared the Christian Sabbath to be "the first day of

the week, commonly called Sunday." This was the Congressional interpretation of what Jehovah meant in reference to the Sabbath when he declared, "The *seventh* day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God." Here was a precedent and a foundation for any future legislation by Congress which the National Reform Alliance might demand. It was a great victory for Sunday enforcement; and the promoters of that cause were wild with joy.

Another device resorted to by them to secure this evil victory is worthy of notice: it was the threatening to boycott every politician who opposed the measure. It is well known that if there is any point on which the average politician is abnormally weak and supersensitive, it is the point of losing his office, to save which he will crawl abjectly in the dust before any voter. So effective was this device that some politicians were overheard counseling among themselves to this effect: "You know," said one, "that we want to come back to Congress." "But how shall we get here," said another, "except by yielding to the clergy?" By this the clergy learned that they had power to intimidate Congress sufficiently to carry their measures through that body by threats. It was the boast of one clergyman soon afterward, "I have learned that we hold the United States Senate in our hands."— *Dr. H. H. George, Speech in Paterson, N. J.*

THE "CHRISTIAN NATION" DECISION

The Supreme Court of the United States, in February, 1892, rendered a decision in a case relating to alien contract labor, which has become memorable for its bearing upon a question, altogether outside of and superior to the matter which came before the court. It has ever since been known as the "Christian Nation" decision, and is remembered and appealed to as a decision affecting the relation between religion and the government in this country, although no such

Photo by Harris & Ewing
Justice David J. Brewer
Who Wrote the "Christian Nation" Decision Rendered by the United States Supreme Court, Feb. 29, 1892

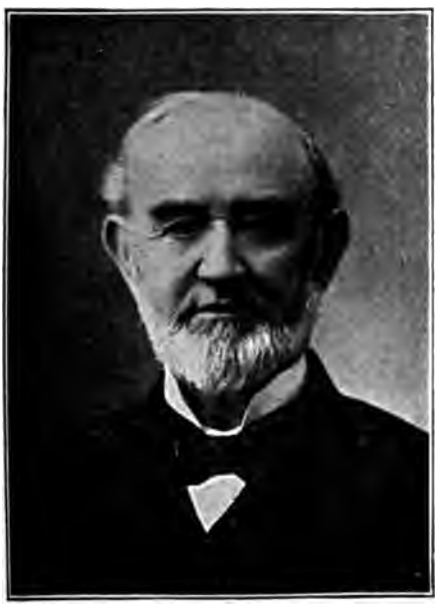
question was raised in the case before the court, and the language having to do with this question occurs in an *obiter dictum* part of the decision. After speaking of the religious character of the charters, proclamations, etc., connected with American history, and the like character of many of the customs and institutions which have been established here, the decision says: "These, and many other matters which might be noticed, add a volume of unofficial declarations to the mass of organic utterances that this is a Christian nation."

This utterance from the federal Supreme Court brought great rejoicing to the ranks of the theocratic party. The official organ of the American Sabbath Union declared that the decision meant that the government was Christian, and added: "This decision is vital to the Sunday question in all its aspects, and places that question among the most important issues now before the American people. . . . This important decision rests upon the fundamental principle that religion is imbedded in the organic structure of the American

government — a religion that recognizes and is bound
maintain Sunday as a day for rest and worship."

The *Christian Statesman,* official organ of the Natio
Reform party, published an editorial headed "Christian P
tics," which began like this: " 'This is a Christian natic
That means Christian government, Christian laws, Christi
institutions, Christian practises, Christian citizenship. A
this is not an outburst of popular passion or prejudi
Christ did not lay his guiding hand there, but upon
calm, dispassionate, supreme judicial tribunal of our gove
ment. It is the weightiest, the noblest, the most trem
dously far-reaching in its consequences of all the utteran
of that sovereign tribunal. And that utterance is for Ch
tianity, for Christ. 'A Christian nation!' Then this
tion is Christ's nation, for nothing can be Christian t
does not belong to him. Then his word is its soverei
law. Then the nation is Christ's servant. Then it oug
to, and must, confess, love, and obey Christ. All that t
National Reform Association seeks, all that this departme
of Christian politics works for, is to be found in the
velopment of that royal truth, 'This is a Christian natio
It is the hand of the second of our three great departmer
of national government throwing open a door of our natio
house, one that leads straight to the throne of God."

A decision "tremendously far-reaching in its con
quences" says this National Reform organ; and we do n
question the truth of this statement. How tremendous
far-reaching it may become probably the *Christian Statesm*
did not apprehend. But there are some who see furth
than the *Statesman,* and from one such, Bishop Earl Cra
ton of the M. E. Church, we quote the following pertine
comment on this decision. In a sermon delivered in t
Foundry Methodist church, Washington, D. C., March 1



Bishop Earl Cranston

1910, Bishop Cranston said:—

"Suppose this were to be declared a Christian nation by a constitutional interpretation to that effect. What would that mean? Which of the two contending definitions of Christianity would the word Christian indicate?—The Protestant idea of course; for under our system majorities rule, and the majority of Americans are Protestants. Very well. But suppose that by the addition of certain contiguous territory with twelve or more millions of Roman Catholics, the annexation of a few more islands with half as many more, and the same rate of immigration as now, the majority some years hence should be Roman Catholic,—who doubts for a moment that the reigning pope would assume control of legislation and government? He would say with all confidence and consistency, 'This is a Christian nation. It was so claimed from the beginning and so declared many years ago. A majority defined then what Christianity was; the majority will define now what Christianity is and is to be.' That 'majority' would be the pope."

No wonder the pope welcomed this Christian nation decision by the nation's highest court, and has since been full of eulogies for the American Constitution and government.

Obviously, this Supreme Court utterance did not make the nation Christian, nor could it settle the truth of the question whether the nation was Christian or not. It was

and is of use for legal purposes only, as an impetus to the movement to commit the government to the policy of religious legislation.

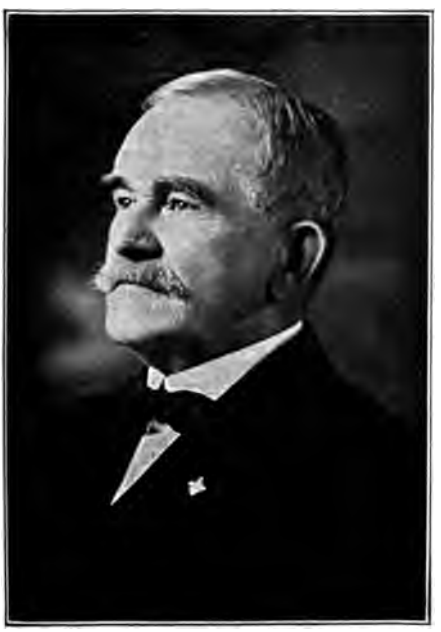
SUNDAY CLOSING OF THE ST. LOUIS EXPOSITION

The holding of the great Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis in 1904 afforded another opportunity to secure congressional legislation favoring the Sunday sabbath. Pressure was successfully brought to bear upon Congress to make the $5,000,000 appropriated in aid of the exposition conditional upon Sunday closing. This was secured by attaching to the appropriation bill a "rider" containing this provision: "As a condition precedent to the payment of this appropriation, the directors shall contract to close the gates to visitors on Sundays during the whole duration of the fair."

SUNDAY CLOSING OF THE JAMESTOWN EXPOSITION

The like course was followed by Congress with respect to the Jamestown, Va., exposition of 1907. A bill was passed appropriating $250,000 in aid of the fair, with the proviso: "That as a condition precedent to the payment of this appropriation in aid of said exposition, the Jamestown Exposition Company shall agree to close the grounds of the said exposition to visitors on Sunday during the period of said exposition."

Concerning the means by which Congress was induced to take this action, this statement was made in a leaflet entitled, "The American Sabbath Union": "The International Federation of Sunday-Rest Associations of the United States and Canada, has been the main agency by which the following clause was inserted in the bill making the appropriation: 'The grounds of the exposition shall be closed on Sundays.' This is another grand victory for the Sabbath cause. The American Sabbath Union, as one of the constitu-



The Late Senator Joseph F. Johnston, of Alabama

Author of the Johnston Sunday Bill, Which Has for Several Years Been Urged upon Congress

ent organizations of this International Federation, labored diligently and continuously for months, in connection with other associations, to achieve this great triumph."

OTHER RELIGIOUS MEASURES PRESSED UPON CONGRESS

The theocratic forces have not been slow to follow up the advantage thus gained at the seat of the government. Religious measures in a flood, mostly bills calling for Sunday legislation, have been urged upon Congress, and Congress has only recently taken another step in behalf of Sunday by decreeing Sunday closing of post-offices of the first- and second-class. During the first session of the sixtieth Congress (1908-09) no less than eighteen religious bills were introduced in one or both houses of Congress. The drastic character of some of these measures appears in a bill introduced in July, 1912, entitled, "A bill to punish violations of the Lord's day in the District of Columbia," and which provided that "any person who shall pursue his business or the work of his ordinary calling on the Lord's day in the District of Columbia, works of necessity or charity excepted," may be fined five hundred dollars or im-

prisoned for a year, or both, in the discretion of the court.

To-day, we see before us a gigantic federation of the Protestant churches; we see also a great federation of Catholics; we see the National Reform Association becoming international in scope and influence, and many other organizations joining with it in the demand for a "Christian" government. Upon one point all these bodies are united, and that is the desire for legislation to enforce the observance of Sunday. There, and there only, do all these great federations and associations find common ground. And the enforcement of the Sunday sabbath, the sign of the spiritual authority of the Church of Rome, is the very thing which is designated in the Scripture prophecy as being the "mark" of the "beast."

Nearly one hundred arrests of seventh-day keepers have been made since the modern revival of intolerance began, some of them under circumstances of great cruelty and oppression. The prisoners have served an aggregate of nearly fifteen hundred days in jail and in chain-gangs. Two men have lost their lives through the hardships to which they have been subjected. Secular papers have quite generally spoken out in loud protest and condemnation against the monstrous hypocrisy, injustice, and wrong of these things. But what about the religious press, whose professed principles would compel them to protest?— With a few honorable exceptions, religionists have treated the matter with utter indifference and silence, especially those who have taken the pains to sneer at our apprehension that great evil was sure to result from this tampering with the laws. They have averred with a cynical smile that the movement "would not harm a hair of our head;" but when the religious machine begins to grind, they have not a whisper of apology, or a word of censure, or a note of protest to offer. It is not for the hair of our head that we are specially solicitous, but we

raise a warning against national apostasy, which means national ruin.

But if prophecy outlines this work, it may be said, you can not stop it. Very true; isolated individuals can not turn back the tide and save the nation. But individuals can save themselves. "A prudent man forseeth the evil, and hideth himself." Prov. 27:12. To save as many as possible from a catastrophe which is to swallow up so many should be the object of every lover of truth. With a true evangelical spirit, we "seek not *yours,* but *you.*" 2 Cor. 12:14. The third message of Rev. 14:9-14 is a special message with respect to this very crisis: "If any man worship the beast and his image, . . . the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God." The cup into which this wine is poured is composed of his "indignation," and the condition in which it is poured is "without mixture,"— without any mixture of mercy or hope. This is the storm-center around which, with cyclonic speed and power, the closing scenes of these last days now revolve. But on the brow of this dark and troublous cloud glows the bright bow of divine promise. "There shall be a time of trouble, such as never was; . . . and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book." Dan. 12:1. "He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty. . . . He shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust: his truth shall be thy shield and buckler. Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night; nor for the arrow that flieth by day; nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness; nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday. A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee. Only with thine eyes shalt thou behold and see the reward of the wicked. Because thou

hast made the Lord, which is my refuge, even the Most High, thy habitation; there shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy dwelling." Ps. 91:1, 4-10.

With this presentation of the argument we here rest the case, feeling that no further statement is called for. We have not sought for any novel, sensational, or overdrawn arguments, but have endeavored to present only a plain array of Scriptural and self-evident truths, and a platform of firm, immovable facts that will stand the test of the great day when every refuge of lies will be swept away, and every covenant with death be disannulled. Isa. 28:16-18.

APPENDIX

THE PROGRESS OF A CENTURY

SO rapid has been the onward march of modern progress in the realm of the arts and sciences, that comparatively few people of the present generation realize how far the world has been carried beyond the knowledge and appliances of civilization as it existed in the days of our grandparents. The following description taken from a book published in the centennial year 1876, entitled, "Our First Century," will help to give the reader a clear conception of the wonderful manner in which this nation has arisen from very humble beginnings in the brief period of time since it was first seen "coming up":—

"Here, on the verge of the centennial anniversary of the birth of our republic, let us take a brief review of the material and intellectual progress of our country during the first hundred years of its political independence.

"The extent of the conceded domain of the United States, in 1776, was not more than *half a million* square miles; now it is more than 3,300,000 square miles. Its population then was about two million and a half.

PRODUCTS OF THE SOIL

"The products of the soil are the foundations of the material wealth of a nation. It has been eminently so with us, notwithstanding the science of agriculture and construction of good implements of labor were greatly neglected until the early part of the nineteenth century.

"A hundred years ago the agricultural interests of our country were mostly in the hands of uneducated men. Science was not applied to husbandry. A spirit of improvement was scarcely known. The son copied the ways of his father. He worked with no other implements and pursued no other methods of cultivation; and he who attempted a change was regarded as a visionary or an innovator. Very little associated effort for improvement in the business of farming was then seen. The first association for such a purpose was formed in the South, and

was known as the 'South Carolina Agricultural Society,' organized in 1784. A similar society was formed in Pennsylvania the following year. Now there are State, county, and even town agricultural societies in almost every part of the Union.

"Agricultural implements were rude and simple. They consisted chiefly of the plow, harrow, spade, hoe, hand-rake, scythe, sickle, and wooden fork. The plow had a clumsy, wrought-iron share with wooden mold-board, which was sometimes plated with old tin or sheet-iron. The rest of the structure was equally clumsy; and the implement required in its use twice the amount of strength of man and beast that the present plow does. Improvements in the construction of plows during the past fifty years save to the country annually, in work and teams, at least $20,000,000. The first patent for a cast-iron plow was issued in 1797. To the beginning of 1875, about four hundred patents had been granted.

"A hundred years ago the seed was sown by hand, and the entire crop was harvested by hard manual labor. The grass was cut with a scythe, and 'cured' and gathered with a fork and hand-rake. The grain was cut with a sickle, thrashed with a flail or the treading of horses, and was cleared of the chaff by a large clamshell-shaped fan of wicker-work, used in a gentle breeze. The drills, seed-sowers, cultivators, reapers, thrashing-machines, and fanning mills of our day were all unknown. They are the inventions of a time within the memory of living men.

"Abortive attempts were made toward the close of the eighteenth century, to introduce a thrashing-machine from England, but the flail held sway until two generations ago. Indian corn, tobacco, wheat, rye, oats, potatoes, and hay were the staple products of the farm a hundred years ago. Timothy and orchard grass had just been introduced.

COTTON CULTURE

"The expansion of the cotton culture has been marvelous. In 1784 eight bales of cotton sent to England from Charleston, S. C., were seized by the custom-house authorities in Liverpool, on the ground that so large a quantity could not have come from the United States. The progress of its culture was slow [until the invention of the cotton-gin in 1793, by Eli Whitney, a machine which by means of saw-teeth disks was adapted to separate rapidly the fiber from the seed. It did the work of many persons]. The cultivation of cotton rapidly increased.

From 1792 to 1800 the amount of cotton raised had increased from 138,000 pounds to 18,000,000 pounds, all of which was wanted in England, where improved machinery was manufacturing it into cloth. . . . The value of the cotton crop in 1792 was $30,000. Now the reader can judge of its value, when he thinks of the production of over four billions of pounds annually.

FRUIT CULTURE

"Fruit culture, a hundred years ago, was very little thought of. Inferior varieties of apples, pears, peaches, plums, and cherries were cultivated for family use. It was not till the beginning of the nineteenth century that any large orchards were planted. The cultivation of grapes and berries was almost wholly unknown seventy-five years ago. The first horticultural society was formed in 1829. Before that time fruit was not an item of commercial statistics in our country. But as late as 1876 the average annual value of fruit was estimated at $40,000,000, the grape crop alone exceeding in value $10,000,000.

LIVE STOCK

"Improvements in live stock have all been made within the last century. The native breeds were descended from stock sent over to the colonies, and were generally inferior. In 1772, Washington wrote in his diary, 'With one hundred milch cows on my farm, I have to buy butter for my family.' . . . Now there are about 44,000,000 horned cattle in the United States, equal in average quality to those of any country in the world. The product of the dairy cows exceeds $500,000,000.

FARM ANIMALS

"A hundred years ago, mules and asses were chiefly used for farming purposes and ordinary transportation. Carriage horses were imported from Europe. Now our horses of every kind are equal to those of any other country. Statistics show that there are about 13,537,000 horses in the United States, or one to about every six persons; the aggregate value of horses is $603,969,442.

SHEEP HUSBANDRY

"Sheep husbandry has greatly improved. The inferior breeds of the last century, raised only in sufficient quantity to supply the table, and the domestic looms in the manufacture of

yarns and coarse cloth, have been superseded by some of the finer varieties. Merino sheep were introduced early in the nineteenth century. The embargo before the war of 1812, and the establishment of manufactures here afterward, stimulated sheep and wool raising; and these have been important items in our national wealth. There are now about 41,883,065 sheep in the United States. The total value of farm animals is $2,212,756,578.

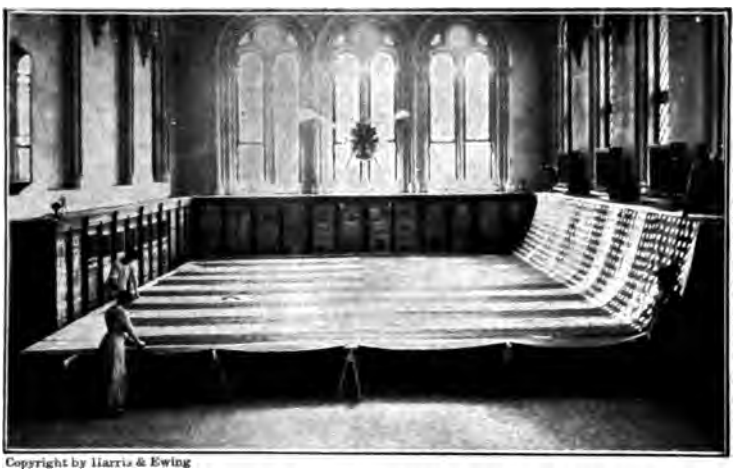
SWINE

"Improvements in the breed of swine have been very great during the last fifty years. They have become a large item in our commercial national statistics. At this time there are about 28,172,000 head of swine in this country. Enormous quantities of pork, packed and in the form of bacon, are exported annually.

"These brief statistics of the principal products of agriculture, show its development in this country and its importance. Daniel Webster said, 'Agriculture feeds us; to a great extent it clothes us; without it we should not have manufactures; we should not have commerce. They all stand together like pillars in the cluster, the largest in the center, and that largest—AGRICULTURE.'

MANUFACTURES

"The great manufacturing interests of our country are the product of the century just closed. The policy of the British government was to suppress manufacturing in the English-American colonies, and cloth making was confined to the household. When nonimportation agreements cut off supplies from Great Britain, the Irish flax-wheel and the Dutch wool-wheel were made active in families. All other kinds of manufacturing were of small account in this country until the concluding decade of the eighteenth century. In Great Britain the inventions of Hargreaves, Arkwright, and Crompton had stimulated the cotton and woolen manufactures, and the effects finally reached the United States. Massachusetts offered a grant of money to promote the establishment of a cotton-mill, and one was built at Beverly in 1787, the first erected in the United States. It had not the improved English machinery. In 1789, Samuel Slater came from England with a full knowledge of that machinery, and in connection with Messrs. Almy and Brown, of Providence, R. I., established a cotton factory there in 1790, with the improved implements. Then was really be-



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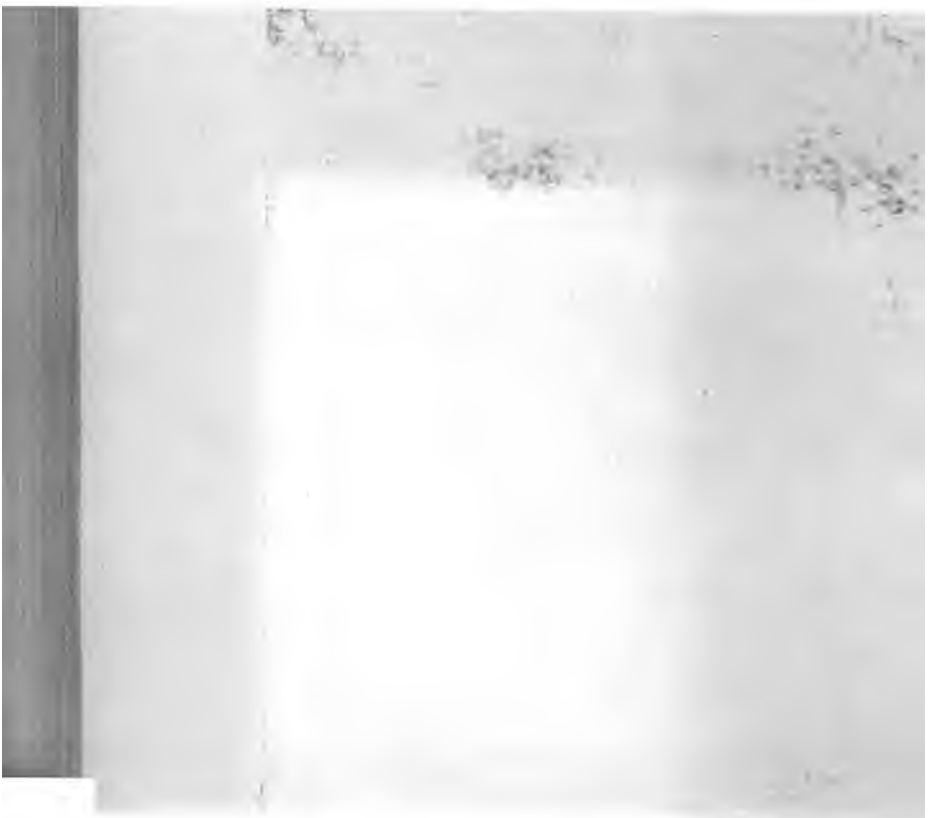
The "Star-spangled Banner", Which Floated Over Fort McHenry During the British Attack in 1814, Undergoing Repairs in the National Museum, Washington, D. C. The dimensions of the flag are 29 x 32 feet, and it is said to be the largest U. S. flag that ever passed through a battle.

Old Fort McHenry, Near Baltimore, Md., Over Which the "Star-spangled Banner" Waved During the British Bombardment in 1814



gun the manufacture of cotton in the United States. Twenty years later, the number of cotton-mills in our country was one hundred and sixty-eight with 90,000 spindles. The business has greatly expanded. In Massachusetts, the foremost State in the manufacture of cotton, there are now over two hundred mills, employing, in prosperous times, 50,000 persons, and with a capital of more than $30,000,000. The city of Lowell was founded by the erection of a cotton-mill there in 1822; and there, soon afterward, the printing of calico was first begun in the United States.

"With wool, as with cotton, the manufacture into cloth was confined to households, for home use, until near the close of the eighteenth century. The wool was carded between two cards held in the hands of the operator, and all the processes were slow and crude. In 1797, Asa Whittemore, of Massachusetts, invented a carding-machine, and this led to the establishment of woolen manufactories outside of families. In his famous report on manufactures, in 1791, Alexander Hamilton said that of woolen goods, hats only had reached maturity. The business had been carried on with success in colonial times. The wool was felted by hand, and furs were added by the same slow process. This manual labor continued until a little more than thirty-six years ago, when it was supplanted by machinery. Immense numbers of hats of every kind are now made in our country.

"At the time of Hamilton's report, there was only one woolen-mill in the United States. This was at Hartford, Conn. In it were made cloths and cassimeres. Now woolen factories may be found in almost every State in the Union, turning out annually the finest cloths, cassimeres, flannels, carpets, and every variety of goods made of wool. In this business, as in cotton, Massachusetts has taken the lead. The value of manufactured woolens in the United States, at the close of the Civil War, was estimated at about $60,000,000. The supply of wool in the United States has never been equal to the increasing demand.

THE IRON INDUSTRY

"The smelting of iron ore and the manufacture of iron has become an immense business in our country. The development of ore deposits and of coal used in smelting are among the marvels of our history. English navigation laws discouraged iron manufacture in the colonies. Only blast furnaces for making

Photo by Paul Thompson, N.Y.

Francis Scott Key, Author of the Words of the National Anthem. Key was a lawyer of Frederick, Md., and wrote the "Star-spangled Banner" on board a British warship, when he saw the flag still floating over Fort McHenry after an anxious night during the British bombardment in 1814.

pig-iron were allowed. This product was nearly all sent to England, in exchange for manufactured articles; and the whole amount of such exportation, at the beginning of the old war for independence, was less than 8,000 tons annually. The colonists were wholly dependent upon Great Britain for articles manufactured of iron and steel, excepting rude implements made by blacksmiths for domestic use. During the war, the Continental Congress was compelled to establish manufactures of iron and steel. These were chiefly in northern New Jersey, the Hudson Highlands, and western Connecticut, where excellent ore was found, and forests in abundance for making charcoal. . . .

"The first use of anthracite coal for smelting iron was in the Continental Armory at Carlisle in Pennsylvania in 1775. But charcoal was universally used until 1840, for smelting ores. Now iron is manufactured in our country in every form from a nail to a locomotive. A vast number of machines have been invented for carrying on these manufactures; and the products in cutlery, fire-arms, railway materials, and machinery of every kind employ vast numbers of men and a great amount of capital.

MANUFACTURE OF COPPER, SILVER, AND GOLD PRODUCTS

"There has been great progress in these lines. At the close of the Revolution, no manufactures of the kind existed in our

country. Now the manufacture of copperware yearly, of every kind of jewelry and watches, has become a large item in our commercial tables."

Photo by Paul Thompson, N. Y.

Mrs. Mary Pickersgill, Who Made the Original "Star-spangled Banner" Seen by Francis Scott Key When He Wrote the Words of the National Anthem.

COPPER MINING

On the subject of copper mining the following statement by Waldon Fawcett, in the *Scientific American* of June 8, 1901, will be of interest, not only as a matter of information, but as showing how the United States is leading the world in this important industry also. He says:—

"No phase of the development of the natural resources of the United States has been characterized by more rapid, or more really remarkable progress, than the growth of the copper industry. For one thing, this commodity holds the unparalleled record of having shown, even in the face of financial panics and business depression, an increase of production during practically every year since the inauguration of operations, until now the annual output of the metal is worth approximately $100,000,000, or considerably more than all the gold produced in this country during an equal interval. Perhaps even more impressive is the fact that the United States has within little more than half a century risen to the position of mining more copper than all the rest of the world combined, and in so doing has virtual control over the markets of the globe. Copper is

produced in the United States, principally in Arizona, California, Colorado, Michigan, Montana, and Utah, although various other divisions of the Union, particularly the eastern and southern States, make contributions to the aggregate output. During the past two decades, however, the center of production has moved westward. In 1845, the year which marks the commencement of modern copper mining on this side of the Atlantic, the total production of the United States was estimated at one hundred tons, of which Michigan yielded a dozen tons. From that time forward, the ascendency of the Lake Superior copper district over other sections became more and more pronounced. In 1856, Michigan miners took from the ground over nine-tenths of all the copper secured in the country; and as late as 1880, the Michigan output constituted more than four-fifths of the total production.

"Then came the development of nature's great storehouse of copper in Montana, and although the record of growth was fully as meteoric as had been the career of the Lake Superior territory, it was not till 1892 that Montana finally displaced Michigan as the greatest copper-producing State. The same relative positions have been maintained ever since. On a rough estimate, Montana furnishes about forty per cent, and the Lake Superior mines about twenty-five per cent, of the American production of copper. Arizona, wherein is located the most recently discovered of the three great copper fields, ranks next to Michigan, her copper-mining operations footing up about one-fifth of the grand total. It is interesting, if not significant, to note that Arizona showed the greatest gain in production recorded during the closing year of the century, whereas Montana showed but a slight increase, and the Lake Superior district barely held its own.

"The expansion of the scope of the copper-mining industry has been attended by an improvement of methods and facilities fully as great as has been afforded in any other branch of mining operations, if not greater. To appreciate the extent of the betterment, it is only necessary to compare the economical and efficient mining systems and reduction plants in use to-day with the primitive methods of half a century ago, when much of the copper was taken from the rock by means of drills and gads. The recent introduction of black powder for blasting purposes was a long step ahead, and opened the way for other innovations.

"Under the present plan new shafts are sunk with incredible rapidity. Diamond drills are extensively employed in making

exploration, and power drills are in almost universal use in mining operations proper. Instead of being dependent upon oxen, and hoisting buckets by means of a windlass, as in the old days, the modern copper mine is equipped with hoisting engines of from five thousand to eight thousand horse-power, which hoist ten-ton cars of rock from a depth of nearly a mile, at a speed of *fifty-five miles* an hour.

"Originally the copper-mine operators introduced gravity stamp mills; but these proved totally inadequate, and latterly steam mills have been provided of such power in some instances that an average of three hundred and fifty tons of ore can be crushed daily at a single mill. The equipment of a large modern copper mine also includes powerful air compressors, capable of supplying fifty air drills, and fans thirty feet in diameter, with a capacity of one hundred thousand cubic feet of air a minute for underground ventilation.

"Some of the older copper mines in the United States rank among the deepest holes in the world. The Red Jacket shaft in the Lake Superior district, for instance, an opening about twelve feet by twenty-five feet in size, has been sunk *vertically* to a depth of nearly *five thousand feet;* and is claimed to be the

The House in Baltimore (Albemarle Street), Where the Original "Star-spangled Banner" Was Made by Mrs. Pickersgill

largest and *deepest* shaft of its class *in the world.* This shaft has a vertical depth of nearly one mile; and branching out from the main shaft are innumerable 'cross-cut' channels, through which the copper ore is carried to the main artery of communication, and hoisted to the surface in ten-ton cages, each of which makes half a dozen round trips in an hour, enabling the hoisting of more than five thousand tons of ore from this one mine every working day in the year."

Of the profits of copper mining, Mr. Fawcett says:—

"If the copper taken from the ground in America during an average year is estimated to be worth $100,000,000, it is safe to credit $50,000,000 as net profits." "Europe consumes an enormous quantity of copper, and for a heavy proportion of it she must depend upon the United States." "In the United Verde mine, at Jerome, Ariz., the shaft has as yet pierced the ore only about 600 feet, but the drill shows rich ore 1,100 feet farther. The Calumet and Hecla Co., Michigan, have the largest mining camp in the world. Some of the most highly skilled workmen receive nearly $10 a day."

Quoting again from "The Centennial History of the United States":—

THE MANUFACTURE OF PAPER

"The manufacture of paper is a very large item in the business of our country. At the close of the Revolution there were only three mills in the United States. At the beginning of the war a demand sprang up, and Wilcox, in his mill near Philadelphia, made the first writing-paper produced in this country. He manufactured the thick, coarse paper on which the continental money was printed. So early as 1794, the business had so increased that there were, in Pennsylvania alone, forty-eight paper-mills. There has been a steady increase in the business ever since. Within the last twenty-five years [previous to 1876], the increase has been enormous, and yet not sufficient to meet the demand. Improvements in printing-presses have cheapened the production of books and newspapers, and the circulation of these has greatly increased. It is estimated that the amount of paper now manufactured annually in the United States for these, for paper-hangings, and for wrapping-paper, is full 800,000,000 pounds. The supply of raw material here has not been equal to the demand, and rags to the value of about $2,000,000 in a year have been imported.

"The manufacture of ships, carriages, wagons, [automo-

biles], clocks and watches, pins, leather, glass, india rubber, silk, wool, sewing-machines, and a variety of other things wholly unknown or feebly carried on a hundred years ago, now flourish, and form very important items in our domestic commerce. The sewing-machine is an American invention, and the first really practical one was first offered to the public by Elias Howe Jr., about 1846. A patent had been obtained for one five years before. Great improvements have been made, and now a very extensive business in the manufacture and sale of sewing-machines is carried on by different companies, employing a large amount of capital and costly machinery and a great number of persons.

MINING INDUSTRY

"The mining interests of the United States have become an eminent part of the national wealth. The extraction of lead, iron, copper, the precious metals, and coal from the bosom of the earth is a business that has almost wholly grown up within the last hundred years. In 1754 a lead mine was worked in southwestern Virginia; and in 1778, Dubuque, a French miner, worked lead ore deposits on the western bank of the upper Mississippi. The Jesuit missionaries discovered copper in the Lake Superior region more than two hundred years ago. That metal is produced in smaller quantities in other States.

GOLD PRODUCTION

"A lust for gold, and a knowledge of its existence in America, was the chief incentive to immigration to these shores. But within the domain of our republic, very little of it was found until that domain was extended far toward the Pacific Ocean. It was unsuspected until long after the Revolution. Finally, gold was discovered among the mountains of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and in Georgia. North Carolina was the first State in the Union to send gold to the mint in Philadelphia. Its first small contribution was in 1804. From that time until 1823 the average amount produced from North Carolina mines did not exceed $2,500 annually. Virginia's first contribution was in 1829, when that of North Carolina, for that year, was $128,000. Georgia sent its first contribution in 1830. It amounted to $212,000. The product so increased that branch mints were established in North Carolina and Georgia in 1837 and 1838, and another in New Orleans.

"In 1848, gold was discovered on the American fork of the

Sacramento River in California, and soon afterward elsewhere in that region. A gold fever seized the people of the United States, and thousands rushed to California in search of the precious metal. Within a year from the discovery, nearly 50,000 people were there. Less than five years afterward, California, in one year, sent to the United States mint full $40,000,000 in gold. Its entire gold product to this time is estimated at more than $800,000,000. Over all the far western States and territories the precious metals, gold and silver, seem to be scattered in profusion, and the amount of mineral wealth yet to be discovered there seems to be incalculable. Our coal fields seem to be inexhaustible; and out of the bosom of the earth, in portions of our country, flow millions of barrels annually of petroleum, or rock-oil, affording the cheapest illuminating material in the world. [This is another source of wealth to the country, equal to the output of gold.]

"Mineral coal was first discovered and used in Pennsylvania at the period of the Revolution. A boat load was sent down the Susquehanna from Wilkesbarre for the use of the Continental works at Carlisle. But it was not much used before the war of 1812; and the regular business of mining this fuel did not become a part of the commerce of the country before the year 1820, when three hundred and sixty-five tons were sent to Philadelphia. At the present time the amount of coal sent to market from the American mines, of all kinds, is equal to full 15,000,000 tons [now 500,000,000 tons] annually.

COMMERCE

"The commerce of the United States has had a wonderful growth. Its most active development was seen in New England. British legislation imposed heavy burdens upon it in colonial times, and, like manufactures, it was greatly depressed. The New Englanders built many vessels for their own use, but more for others; and just before the breaking out of the Revolution, there was quite a brisk trade carried on between the English-American colonies and the West Indies, as well as with the mother country. The colonists exported tobacco, lumber, shingles, staves, masts, turpentine, hemp, flax, pot and pearl ashes, salted fish in great quantities, some corn, live stock, pig-iron, and skins and furs procured by traffic with the Indians. Whale- and cod-fishing was an important branch of commerce. In the former, there were one hundred and sixty vessels employed at the beginning of 1775, and sperm candles and whale oil were exported

to Great Britain. In exchange for New England products, a large amount of molasses was brought from the West Indies, and made into rum to sell to the Indians and fishermen, and to exchange for slaves on the coast of Africa.

"At the close of the war, the British government refused to enter into commercial relations with the United States government, believing that the weak league of States would soon be dissolved; but when a vigorous national government was formed in 1789, Great Britain sent a resident minister to our government and entered into a commercial arrangement with us. Meanwhile a brisk trade had sprung up between the colonies and Great Britain, as well as with other countries. From 1784 to 1790 the exports from the United States to Great Britain amounted to $33,000,000, and the imports from Great Britain to $87,000,000. At the same time several new and important branches of industry had appeared, and flourished with great rapidity.

"From that time the expansion of American commerce was marvelous, in spite of the checks it received from British jealousy, wars, piracies in the Mediterranean Sea and elsewhere, and the effects of embargoes. The tonnage of American ships, which in 1789 was 201,562, was in 1870 more than 7,000,000. [At the present time England is purchasing from the United States eight times as much as she sells to this country.]"

There is no surer index to the growing financial strength of a nation than the sum of its exports and imports. Exports from the United States for the year ending June 30, 1913, amounted to $2,615,261,082; imports for the same year, $1,923,440,775; excess of exports over imports, $691,820,307. Exports from this country to Europe for 1900 crossed for the first time the billion-dollar line.

"The domestic commerce of the United States is immense. A vast seacoast line, great lakes, large rivers, and many canals afford scope for interstate commerce and commerce with adjoining countries not equaled by those of any other nation. The canal and railway systems in the United States are the product chiefly of the century just closed. So also is navigation by steam on which river commerce chiefly relies for transportation. This was begun in the year 1807. The first canals made in this country were two short ones, for a water passage around the South Hadley and Montague Falls, in Massachusetts. These were constructed in 1792. At about the same time the Inland Lock Navigation Companies in the State of New York began

their work. The Middlesex Canal, connecting Lowell with Boston Harbor, was completed in 1808, and the great Erie Canal, three hundred and sixty-three miles in length, was finished in 1825, at a cost of almost $8,000,000. The aggregate length of canals built in the United States is 3,200 miles.

RAILWAYS

"The first railway built in the United States was one three miles in length. It was completed in 1827; horse-power was used. The first use of a locomotive in this country was in 1829, when one was put upon a railway that connected the coal mines of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company with Honesdale.[1] Now, railways form a thick network all over the United States east of the Mississippi, and are rapidly spreading over the States .. and territories beyond, to the Pacific.

THE TELEGRAPH

"To these facilities for commercial operations must be added the electro-magnetic telegraph, an American invention, as a method of transmitting intelligence, and giving warning signals to the shipping and agricultural interests concerning the actual and probable state of the weather each day. The first line, forty miles in length, was constructed between Baltimore and Washington in 1844. Now the lines are extended to every part of our Union, and all over the civilized world, traversing oceans and rivers, and bringing Persia and New York within one hour's space of intercommunication.

BANKING

"Banking institutions and insurance companies are intimately connected with commerce. The first bank in the United States was established in 1781, as a financial aid to the government. It was called the Bank of North America. The Bank of New York and the Bank of Massachusetts were established soon afterward. On the recommendation of Hamilton, in 1791, a national bank was established at Philadelphia, with a capital of $10,000,000, of which sum the government subscribed $2,000,000. Various banking systems, under State charters, have since been tried. During the Civil War, a system of national banking was established, by which there is a uniform paper currency throughout the Union. The number of national banks at the

[1] This was for freight only. The first passenger railway was opened in 1830. See p. 38.

close of 1863 was 66; the number at the close of 1874 was not far from 1,700, involving capital to the amount of almost $500,000,000.

INSURANCE

"Fire, marine, and life insurance companies have flourished greatly in the United States. The first incorporated company was established in 1792, in Philadelphia, and known as the 'Fire Insurance Company of North America.' Another was established in Providence, R. I., in 1799, and another in New York in 1806. The first life insurance company was chartered in Massachusetts, in 1825, and the New York Life Insurance and Trust Company was established in 1829. All others are of recent organization. As a rule the business of insurance of every kind is profitable to the insurer and the insured. The amount of capital engaged in it is enormous. The fire risks alone, at the close of 1874, amounted to about $200,000,000. [Jan. 1, 1913, they were approximately $50,000,000,000.]

IMMIGRATION

"Our growth in population has been steadily increased by immigration from Europe. It began very moderately after the Revolution. From 1784 to 1794 the average number of immigrants a year was 4,000. During the last ten years the number of persons who have immigrated to the United States from Europe is estimated at over 2,000,000, who brought with them in the aggregate $200,000,000 in money. This capital and the productive labor of the immigrants have added much to the wealth of our country. This immigration and wealth is less than during the ten years preceding the Civil War, during which time there came to this country from Europe 2,814,554 persons, bringing with them an average of at least $100, or an aggregate of over $281,000,000. [Now the immigration is in excess of a million yearly.]

ARTS AND SCIENCES

"The arts, sciences, and invention have made great progress in our country during the last hundred years. These, at the close of the Revolution, were of little account in estimating the advance of the race. The practitioners of the Arts of Design at that period were chiefly Europeans. Of native artists, C. W. Peale and J. S. Copley stood at the head of painters. There were no sculptors, and no engravers of any eminence. Architects, in the proper sense, there were none. After the Revolu-

tion a few good painters appeared, and these have gradually increased in numbers and excellence, without much encouragement, except in portraiture, until within the last twenty-five years. We have now good sculptors, architects, engravers, and lithographers; and in all these departments, as well as in photography [and photoengraving], very great progress has been made within the last thirty or forty years. Alexander Anderson was the first man who engraved on wood in the United States. He died in 1870 at the age of ninety-five years. In banknote engraving we have attained to greater excellence than any other people. It is considered the most perfect branch of the art in design and execution.

"Associations have been formed for improvements in the Arts of Design. The first was organized in Philadelphia in 1791 by C. W. Peale, in connection with Ceracchi, the Italian sculptor. It failed. In 1802, the American Academy of Fine Arts was organized in the city of New York, and in 1807 the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, yet in existence, was established in Philadelphia. In 1826 the American Academy of Fine Arts was superseded by the National Academy of Design, in the city of New York.

EDUCATION

"In education and literature our progress has kept pace with other things. In the very beginning of settlements, the common school was made the special care of the state in New England. Not so much attention was given to this matter elsewhere in the colonies. The need of higher institutions of learning was early felt; and eighteen years after the landing of the Pilgrims from the 'Mayflower,' Harvard College was founded. When the war for independence began, there were nine colleges in the colonies, namely, Harvard at Cambridge, Mass.; Williams and Mary, at Williamsburg, Va.; Yale, at New Haven, Conn.; College of New Jersey, at Princeton; University of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia; King's (now Columbia), in the city of New York; Brown University, at Providence, R. I.; Dartmouth, at Hanover, N. H.; and Rutgers, at New Brunswick, N. J.

"At the period of the Revolution, teaching in the common schools was very meager, and remained so for full thirty years. Only reading, spelling, and arithmetic were regularly taught. The Psalter, the New Testament, and the Bible constituted the reading-books. No history was read; no geography or grammar was taught; and until the putting forth of Webster's spelling-

book in 1783, pronunciation was left to the judgment of teachers. That book produced a revolution.

"As the nation advanced in wealth and intelligence, the necessity for correct popular education became more and more manifest, and associated efforts were made for the improvement of the schools by providing for the training of teachers, under the respective phrases of Teachers' Associations, Educational Periodicals, Normal Schools, and Teachers' Institutes. The first of these societies in this country was the 'Middlesex County Association for the Improvement of Common Schools,' established at Middletown, Conn., in 1799. But little of importance was done in that direction until within the last forty-five years. Now, provision is made in all sections of the Union, not only for the support of common schools, but for training-schools for teachers. Since the Civil War, great efforts have been made to establish common school systems in the late slave-labor States, that should include among the beneficiaries the colored population. Much has been done in that regard.

"Very great improvements have been made in the organization and discipline of the public schools in cities within the last thirty years. Free schools are rapidly spreading their beneficent influence over the whole Union, and in some States, laws have been made that compel all children of a certain age to go to school. Institutions for the special culture of young women in all that pertains to college education have been established within a few years. The pioneer in this work is Vassar College, at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., which was first opened in the year 1865.

"Besides the ordinary means for education, others have been established for special purposes. There are law, scientific, medical, theological, military, commercial, and agricultural schools, and seminaries for the deaf, dumb, and blind. In many States school-district libraries have been established. There are continually enlarging means provided for the education of the whole people. Edmund Burke said, 'Education is the chief defense of nations.'

LITERATURE

"Our literature is as varied as the tastes of the people. No subject escapes the attention of our native scholars and authors. At the period of the Revolution, books were few in variety and number. The larger portion of them were devoted to theological subjects. Booksellers were few, and were found only in the larger cities. Various subjects were discussed in pamphlets,

not generally in newspapers, as now. The editions of books were small, and as stereotyping was unknown, they became rare in a few years, because there was only a costly way of reproduction.

THE PUBLISHING WORK

"In the year 1801, a new impetus was given to the book trade by the formation of the 'American Company of Booksellers'—a kind of 'union.' Twenty years later, competition broke up the association. Before the war of 1812, the book trade in the United States was small. Only schoolbooks had very large sales. Webster's spelling-book was an example of the increasing demand for such helps to education. During the twenty years he was engaged on his dictionary, the income from his spelling-book supported him and his family. It was published in 1783, and its sales have continually increased to the present time, when they amount to over 1,000,000 copies a year. Other schoolbooks of every kind now have an immense annual circulation. The general book trade in this country is now immense in the number of volumes issued and the capital and labor employed. Readers are rapidly increasing. An ardent thirst for knowledge or entertainment to be found in books, magazines, and newspapers, makes a very large demand for these vehicles, while, at the same time, they produce wide-spread intelligence. The magazine literature, now generally healthful, is a powerful coadjutor of books in this popular culture; and the newspaper, not always so healthful, supplies the daily and weekly demand for ephemerals in literature and general knowledge. To meet that demand required great improvements in printing machinery, and these have been supplied.

"The printing-press, at the time of the Revolution, is shown in that used by Franklin, in which the pressure force was obtained by means of a screw. The ink was applied by huge balls; and an expert workman could furnish about fifty impressions an hour. This was improved by Earl Stanhope in 1815, by substituting for the screw a jointed lever. Then came inking machines, and one man could work off two hundred and fifty copies an hour. Years passed on, and the cylinder press was invented; and in 1847 it was perfected by Richard M. Hoe, of New York.

"The newspapers printed in the United States at the beginning of the Revolution were few in number, small in size, and very meager in information of any kind. They were issued

weekly, semiweekly, and triweekly. The first daily newspaper issued in this country was the *American Daily Advertiser,* established in Philadelphia in 1784. In 1775 there were thirty-seven newspapers and periodicals in the United States, with an aggregate issue that year of 1,200,000 copies. There are now about forty newspapers in the United States which have existed over fifty years. [In 1913 there were 22,855 newspapers published in the United States.]

"In the providing of means for moral and religious culture and benevolent enterprises, there has been great progress in this country during the century just closed. The various religious denominations have increased in membership fully in proportion to the increase of population. Asylums of every kind for the unfortunate and friendless have been multiplied in an equal ratio, and provision is made for all.

POSTAL SERVICE

"One of the most conspicuous examples of the growth of our republic is presented by the postal service. Dr. Franklin had been colonial postmaster-general, and he was appointed to the same office for one year by the Continental Congress in the summer of 1775. He held the position a little more than a year, and at the end of his official term there were about fifty post-offices in the United States. All the accounts of the general post-office department during that period were contained in a small book consisting of about two quires of foolscap paper, which is preserved in the department at Washington City. Through all the gloomy years of the weak Confederacy, the business of the department was comparatively light; and when the national government began its career in 1789, there were only about seventy-five post-offices, with an aggregate length of post-roads of about 1,900 miles. The annual income was $28,000, and the annual expenditures were $32,000. The mails were carried by postmen on horseback, and sometimes on foot."

The post-office department of the United States is shown by facts and figures to be the greatest business corporation on the earth. The number of its offices is 58,020; the extent of its post-routes, in miles, is 436,293; its revenue in 1913 was $266,619,525; its expenditures during the same period, $262,067,541. The long-needed parcel-post system was introduced in 1912, and has vastly increased the business of the post-office department, while contributing immensely to the advantage of the public.

MEMORIALS AGAINST RELIGIOUS LEGISLATION

THE following memorial was laid before the United States Senate by Senator J. C. Burroughs of Michigan, and before the House by Representative Bartholdt of Missouri, Jan. 29, 1908:—

"To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives in Congress Assembled.

"Your memorialists respectfully represent that the body of Christian believers with which they are connected, the Seventh-day Adventists, and whose views they represent, has a growing membership residing in every State and territory in the Union; that nearly all these members are native-born American citizens; and that it is supporting missionaries and has a following in every continent of the world. It is a Protestant body, which was established in this country about sixty years ago.

"We recognize the authority and dignity of the American Congress as being the highest lawmaking power in the land, to whose guidance and fostering care have been committed the manifold interests of this great country; and our justification for presenting this memorial to your honorable body is that we are not seeking to direct your attention to any private or class concerns, but to principles which are fundamental to the stability and prosperity of the whole nation. We therefore earnestly ask your consideration of the representation which we herewith submit:—

"We believe in civil government as having been divinely ordained for the preservation of the peace of society, and for the protection of all citizens in the enjoyment of those inalienable rights which are the highest gift to man from the Creator. We regard properly constituted civil authority as supreme in the sphere in which it is legitimately exercised, and we conceive its proper concern to be 'the happiness and protection of men in the present state of existence; the security of the life, liberty, and property of the citizens; and to restrain the vicious and encourage the virtuous by wholesome laws equally extending to every individual.' As law-abiding citizens, we seek to maintain that respect for authority which is the most effective bulwark of just government, and which is especially necessary for the maintenance of republican institutions upon an enduring basis.

"We heartily profess the Christian faith, and have no higher ambition than that we may consistently exemplify its principles in our relations to our fellow men and to the common Father

of us all. We cheerfully devote our time, our energies, and our means to the evangelization of the world, proclaiming those principles and doctrines of the gospel which were interpreted anew to mankind by the Saviour of the world, and which were the fundamental truths maintained by the church in apostolic times. We regard the Holy Scriptures as the sufficient and infallible rule of faith and practise, and consequently discard as binding and essential all teachings and rituals which rest merely upon tradition and custom.

"While we feel constrained to yield to the claims of civil government and religion, as both being of divine origin, we believe their spheres to be quite distinct the one from the other, and that the stability of the republic and the highest welfare of all citizens demand the complete separation of church and state. The legitimate purposes of government 'of the people, by the people, and for the people,' are clearly defined in the preamble of the national Constitution to be to 'establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty' to all. All these aims are of a temporal nature, and grow out of the relations of man to man. The founders of the nation, recognizing that 'the duty which we owe our Creator and the manner of discharging it can only be directed by reason and conviction, and is nowhere cognizable but at the tribunal of the universal Judge,' wisely excluded religion from the concerns of civil government, not because of their indifference to its value, but because, being primarily a matter of the heart and conscience, it did not come within the jurisdiction of human laws or civil compacts. The recognition of the freedom of the mind of man and the policy of leaving the conscience untrammeled by legislative enactments have been abundantly justified by a record of national development and prosperity which is unparalleled in history. This is the testimony of our own experience to the wisdom embodied in the principle enunciated by the divine Teacher of Christianity: 'Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's.'

"We, therefore, view with alarm the first indication of a departure from this sound principle. In the history of other nations of the world, where church and state have been united to a greater or less degree, or where the struggle to separate them is now in progress, we have a warning, oftentimes written in blood, against the violation of the doctrine which lies at the foundation of civil and religious liberty. We affirm that it is

inconsistent with sound reasoning to profess firm adherence to this principle of the separation of church and state, and at the same time endeavor to secure an alliance between religion and the state, since the church is simply religion in its organized and concrete expression; and, furthermore, that the same authority which can distinguish between the different religions demanding recognition, and give preference to one to the exclusion of the others, can, with equal right and equal facility, distinguish between the different denominations or factions of the same religion, and dispense to one advantages which it denies to the others. These considerations ought to make it doubly clear that what God hath put asunder, man ought not to attempt to join together.

"A more specific reference to an important period of history may illustrate and enforce the affirmations herein set forth. Under a complete union of a heathen religion and a state, with extreme pains and penalties for dissenters, the first disciples, directed by the divine commission, proclaimed the doctrines of Christianity throughout the Roman empire. For nearly three centuries the warfare of suppression and extinction was waged by this haughty power, glorying in the superiority of its own religion, against non-resistant but unyielding adherents to the right to worship according to the dictates of their own consciences. Then came a reversal of the unsuccessful policy, and what former emperors had vainly sought to destroy, Constantine as a matter of governmental expediency embraced, and Christianity became the favored religion.

"Then began the period of 'indescribable hypocrisy' in religion, and of sycophancy and abuse of power in the state. 'The apparent identification of the state and the church by the adoption of Christianity as the religion of the empire, altogether confounded the limits of ecclesiastical and temporal jurisdiction. The dominant party, when it could obtain the support of the civil power for the execution of its intolerant edicts, was blind to the dangerous and unchristian principle which it tended to establish. . . . Christianity, which had so nobly asserted its independence of thought and faith in the face of heathen emperors, threw down that independence at the foot of the throne, in order that it might forcibly extirpate the remains of paganism, and compel an absolute uniformity of Christian faith.'

" 'To the reign of Constantine the Great must be referred the commencement of those dark and dismal times which oppressed Europe for a thousand years. . . . An ambitious man

had attained to imperial power by personating the interests of a rapidly growing party. The unavoidable consequences were a union between church and state, a diverting of the dangerous classes from civil to ecclesiastical paths, and the decay and materialization of religion.' Succeeding decades bore testimony to the fact that 'the state which seeks to advance Christianity by the worldly means at its command, may be the occasion of more injury to this holy cause than the earthly power which opposes it with whatever virulence.'

"It was but a series of logical steps from the union of church and state under Constantine to the Dark Ages and the Inquisition, some of these steps being the settlement of theological controversies by the civil power, the preference of one sect over another, and the prohibition of unauthorized forms of belief and practise, and the adoption of the unchristian principle that 'it is right to compel men to believe what the majority of society had now accepted as the truth, and, if they refused, it was right to punish them.'

"All this terrible record, the horror of which is not lessened nor effaced by the lapse of time, is but the inevitable fruit of that acceptance of the unchristian and un-American doctrine, so inimical to the interests of both the church and the state, that an alliance between religion and civil government is advantageous to either. If the pages of history emphasize one lesson above another, it is the sentiment uttered on a memorable occasion by a former President of this republic: 'Keep the state and the church forever separate.'

"The American colonists who had lived in the mother country under a union of the state and a religion which they did not profess, established on these shores colonial governments under which there was the closest union between the state and the religion which they did profess. The freedom of conscience which had been denied to them in the old country, they denied to others in the new country; and uniformity of faith, church attendance, and the support of the clergy were enforced by laws which arouse righteous indignation in the minds of liberty-loving men of this century. The pages of early American history are stained with the shameful record of the persecution which must always attend the attempt to compel the conscience by enforcing religious observances. The Baptists were banished, the Quakers were whipped, good men were fined, or exposed to public contempt in the stocks, and cruel and barbarous punishments were inflicted upon those whose only crime was that they did not con-

form to the religion professed by the majority and enforced by the colonial laws. And all these outrages were committed in the name of justice, as penalties for the violation of civil laws. 'This was the justification they pleaded, and it was the best they could make. Miserable excuse! But just so it is: wherever there is such a union of church and state, heresy and heretical practises are apt to become violations of the civil code, and are punished no longer as errors in religion, but as infractions of the laws of the land.' Thus did the American colonies pattern after the governments of the Old World, and thus was religious persecution transplanted to the New World.

"We respectfully urge upon the attention of your honorable body the change which was made when the national government was established. The men of those times learned the meaning and value of liberty, not only of the body, but also of the mind; and 'vindicating the right of individuality even in religion, and in religion above all, the new nation dared to set the example of accepting in its relations to God the principle first divinely ordained of God in Judea.' Warned by the disastrous results of religious establishments in both the Old and the New World, these wise builders of state excluded religion from the sphere of the national government in the express prohibition, 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.' Thus they founded a nation, the first in all history, upon the Christian idea of civil government—the separation of church and state. And the century and more of liberty and prosperity which has crowned their efforts, and the wide-spread influence for good which the example of this nation has exerted upon the world at large in leading the way toward freedom from the bondage of religious despotisms and ecclesiastical tyrannies, have demonstrated the wisdom of their course. The 'new order of things,' to which testimony is borne on the reverse side of the great seal of the United States, introduced an era of both civil and religious liberty which has been marked by blessings many and great both to the nation and to religion.

"We are moved to present this memorial, however, because of the persistent and organized efforts which are being made to secure from Congress such legislation as will commit the national government to a violation of this great principle, and to the enforcement of a religious institution. Already there have been introduced during the present session of Congress five bills of this nature:—

"S. 1519, 'A bill to prevent Sunday banking in post-offices in the handling of money-orders and registered letters.'

"H. R. 4897, 'A bill to further protect the first day of the week as a day of rest in the District of Columbia.'

"H. R. 4929, 'A bill prohibiting labor on buildings, and so forth, in the District of Columbia on the Sabbath day.'

"H. R. 13471, 'A bill prohibiting work in the District of Columbia on the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday.'

"S. 3940, 'A bill requiring certain places of business in the District of Columbia to be closed on Sunday.'

"While a merely cursory reading of the titles of these bills may not indicate clearly their full significance, we affirm that an examination of their provisions will reveal the fact that they involve the vital principle of the relation of government to religion. Their passage would mark the first step on the part of the national government in the path of religious legislation—a path which leads inevitably to religious persecution. If government may by law settle one religious controversy and enforce one religious institution, it may logically settle all religious controversies and enforce all religious institutions, which would be the complete union of church and state and the establishment of religion by law. We seek to avoid the consequences by denying the principle. We are assured that the only certain way to avoid taking the last step in this dangerous experiment upon our liberties is to refuse to take the first step.

"We hold it to be the duty of civil government to protect every citizen in his right to believe or not to believe, to worship or not to worship, so long as in the exercise of this right he does not interfere with the rights of others; but 'to pretend to a dominion over the conscience is to usurp the prerogative of God.' However desirable it may seem to us who profess the Christian faith to use the power of the government to compel at least an outward respect for Christian institutions and practises, yet it is contrary to the very genius of Christianity to enforce its doctrines or to forge shackles of any sort for the mind. The holy Author of our religion recognized this great principle in these words: 'If any man hear my words, and believe not, I judge him not.' The triumphs of the gospel are to be won by spiritual rather than by temporal power; and compulsion may be properly employed only to make men civil.

"Therefore, in the interest of the nation, whose prosperity we seek; in the interest of pure religion, for whose advancement we labor; in the interest of all classes of citizens, whose rights

are involved; in the interest of a world-wide liberty of conscience, which will be affected by the example of this nation; in the interest even of those who are urging this legislation, who are thereby forging fetters for themselves as well as for others, we earnestly petition the honorable Senate and the House of Representatives in Congress assembled, not to enact any religious legislation of any kind whatsoever, and particularly not to pass the bills to which reference has been made in this memorial. And for these objects your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

"THE GENERAL CONFERENCE OF SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS.
"A. G. DANIELLS, *President*,
"W. A. SPICER, *Secretary*."

The following memorial was laid before Congress on March 3, 1908:—

"To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives in Congress Assembled.

"The Seventh-day Baptists of the United States, for and in behalf of whom this memorial is laid before you, beg leave to call attention to their records as advocates and defenders of constitutional, civil, and religious liberty ever since their organization in Newport, R. I., in 1671 A. D. That record includes colonial governments, the Continental Congress, where they were represented by Hon. Samuel Ward, services of German Seventh-day Baptists of Ephrata, Pa., and other points of interest. Having such a history and inheritance, we respectfully and confidently ask and petition that you will not enact any of the following bills. [A list is given of the same bills that were specified in the memorial presented by the Seventh-day Adventists.]

"We base this memorial on the following grounds:—

"First. The Constitution of the United States declares that 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.' That Sunday legislation is forbidden under this act is shown by the records of Congress from 1808 to 1830. The question came to the front under an act of April 30, 1810, establishing the Postal Department and requiring the opening of post-offices and the transmission of mail on every day in the week. Remonstrances and petitions followed the enactment of this law. Postmaster-General Gideon Granger, Jan. 30, 1811, reported that he had sent the following instructions to postmasters:—

"'At post-offices where the mail arrives on Sunday, the office is to be kept open for the delivery of letters, etc., for one hour after the arrival and sorting of the mail; but in case that would interfere with the hours of public worship, then the office is to be kept open for one hour after the usual time of dissolving the meetings, for that purpose.'

"He also reported that an officer had been prosecuted in Pennsylvania for refusing to deliver a letter on Sunday not called for within the time prescribed, and said he doubted whether mail could be legally refused to any citizen at any reasonable hour on any day of the week. (See 'American State Papers,' Vol. XV, p. 45.)

"Reports, discussions, and petitions concerning Sunday mails crowded the annals of Congress from 1811 to 1830. Mr. Rhea, chairman of the committee on post-offices, reported adversely concerning efforts to secure a change in the law requiring Sunday opening, on Jan. 3, 1812, June 15, 1812, and Jan. 20, 1815, saying:—

"'The usage of transporting the mails on the Sabbath is coeval with the Constitution of the United States.'

"Jan. 27, 1815, Mr. Daggett made an adverse report, that was considered by the House in committee of the whole, Feb. 10, 1815, and after various efforts at amendment, was passed as follows:—

"'*Resolved,* That at this time it is inexpedient to interfere and pass any laws on the subject-matter of the several petitions praying the prohibition of the transportation and opening of the mail on Sunday.'

"March 3, 1825, an act was passed 'to reduce into one the several acts establishing the Post-office Department,' section 2 of which reads as follows:—

"'*And be it further enacted,* That every postmaster shall keep an office in which one or more persons shall attend on every day on which a mail shall arrive, by land or water, as well as on other days, at such hours as the postmaster-general shall direct, for the purpose of performing the duties thereof; and it shall be the duty of the postmaster, at all reasonable hours, on every day of the week, to deliver, on demand, any letter, paper, or packet, to the person entitled to, or authorized to receive, the same.'

"This renewed the discussion throughout the country, and Congress was flooded with petitions and counter-petitions, which were referred to the committee on post-offices and post-roads, of

which Richard M. Johnson was chairman. He made an elaborate report to the Senate, Jan. 19, 1829, and to the House March 4, 5, 1830. These reports were exhaustive and able documents. They centered around the question of congressional legislation on religious subjects, all phases of which were considered with marked ability and candor.

"When he presented the report before the Senate, Mr. Johnson said:—

"'Now, some denominations consider one day the most sacred, and some look to another, and these petitions for the repeal of the law of 1825 did, in fact, call upon Congress to settle what was the law of God. The committee had framed their report upon principles of policy and expediency. It was but the first step taken, that they were to legislate upon religious grounds, and it made no sort of difference which was the day asked to be set apart, which day was to be considered sacred, whether it was the first or the seventh, the principle was wrong. It was upon this ground that the committee went in making their report.'—*'Register of Debates in Congress,' Vol. V, pp. 42, 43.*

"Representative passages from Senator Johnson's report are as follows:—

"'Extensive religious combinations, to effect a political object, are, in the opinion of the committee, always dangerous. This first effort of the kind calls for the establishment of a principle which, in the opinion of the committee, would lay the foundation for dangerous innovations upon the spirit of the Constitution and upon the religious rights of the citizens. . . .

"'Congress has never legislated upon the subject. It rests, as it ever has done, in the legal discretion of the postmaster-general, under the repeated refusals of Congress to discontinue the Sabbath mails. . . .

"'While the mail is transported on Saturday, the Jew and the Sabbatarian may abstain from any agency in carrying it, from conscientious scruples. While it is transported on the first day of the week, any other class may abstain, from the same religious scruples. The obligation of the government is the same to both these classes; and the committee can discern no principle on which the claims of one should be respected more than those of the other, unless it should be admitted that the consciences of the minority are less sacred than those of the majority.'—*Senate Docs. 2nd ses., Twentieth Congress, Doc. 46; also 'Register of Debates,' Vol. V, appen., p. 24.*

"The adoption of Mr. Johnson's report settled the question of Sunday legislation for Congress for many years. Its revival calls forth this memorial asking that Congress will not reverse its decision made in 1830.

"Second. In addition to the fact that after a discussion lasting twenty years, Congress determined to abide by its constitutional restrictions touching Sunday laws, we offer another objection to the bills now before it. Leaving out the historical fact that Sunday laws have always been avowedly religious, we call attention to the religious elements and principles contained in the bills now before you. They create crime by assuming that secular labor and ordinary worldly affairs become criminal at twelve o'clock on Saturday night, and cease to be criminal twenty-four hours later; they assume that the specific twenty-four hours known as the 'first day' of the week must not be devoted to ordinary affairs, because of the sinfulness and immorality resulting from such use of those specific hours. The fact that religious leaders are the main promoters of Sunday legislation shows that religious convictions are at the basis of Sunday laws, and that religious ends are sought through their enforcement. The terms used, although somewhat modified in modern times, denote that the proposed laws spring from religious conceptions. There can be no distinction between 'secular' and 'sacred,' 'worldly' and 'unworldly,' except on religious grounds. There is no reason, either in logic or in the nature of our civil institutions, why the first day of the week should be legislated into a day of idleness any more than the fourth day. Through all history cessation from 'worldly pursuits,' on either the first or the seventh day of the week, has been considered a form of religious duty.

"Actions and transactions intrinsically right which promote prosperity, good order, and righteousness, can not be changed into crimes at a given moment—by the clock—and purged from criminality 'by act of parliament' twenty-four hours later.

"If there be need of protecting employed persons from abuse or overwork, that need will be met in full by some law like the following:—

"'*Be it enacted,* That every employed person shall be entitled to one day of rest each week. The claiming of this right shall not prejudice, injure, nor interfere with any engagement, position, employment, or remuneration as between employed persons and those by whom they are employed.'

"In view of the foregoing, and of many similar reasons, your

memorialists respectfully urge Congress not to enact any of the Sunday-law bills now before your honorable body.

"In behalf of the Seventh-day Baptists of the United States, by the American Sabbath Tract Society, Plainfield, N. J.,

"[illegible], *President*,

"[illegible],

"*Corresponding Secretary*."

GOVERNOR SULZER, TAMMANY HALL, AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

The Hierarchy And The Public Schools

From the *Protestant Magazine*, June, 1914

Every one knows that Hon. William Sulzer, the former governor of the great State of New York, was impeached last year by a legislature under the control of Tammany Hall, a political organization which has been defined to be "the secular side of the Roman Catholic Church." No one who was acquainted with the circumstances connected with this action entertained the idea that this political tragedy was enacted in the interest of good government. It was perfectly well understood that the governor was being punished for refusing to do some one's bidding, but the exact nature of the offense against the invisible government was not so well known. Although Tammany Hall may have had ground for complaint that the governor was not sufficiently subservient to its wishes, yet we shall submit evidence in this article to show that the Roman Catholic hierarchy was largely interested in securing his removal from office because he refused to give his official approval to some legislation which the representatives of Rome desired to have placed upon the statute books. The story which we shall tell is an interesting one. It is startling proof of the settled determination of the Roman hierarchy to gain control in American affairs and to dominate everything in the interest of the Roman Church. It is one more piece of evidence to show that what M. Viviani, the minister of public instruction in France, recently said about the Roman Church in that country—"she wishes to be the government and to conquer"—is equally true in America. It is a revelation which fully justifies the fear which we have from time to time expressed concerning the peril of Roman domination in this country. But we shall let the facts speak for themselves.

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Ex-Governor Sulzer, of New York

There are certain matters of record which we shall first present, and in connection with them we shall give a report of a personal interview with Mr. Sulzer in which he made a full statement concerning the pleadings, the promises, and the threats of Roman Catholics in the effort to induce him to yield to their demands.

Nov. 5, 1912, Hon. William Sulzer, who had been a member of the national House of Representatives for eighteen consecutive years, was elected governor of the State of New York by a plurality of 205,454, which was the largest plurality ever given in that State for any candidate for governor. He delivered his inaugural address to the legislature on Jan. 1, 1913, and at once entered upon the duties of his office.

On February 18, Mr. McKee, of Richmond, introduced in the assembly three bills (Nos. 1211, 1685; 1213, 1683; and 1214, 1684) and on April 2 another bill (No. 2539) amending the Greater New York charter in relation to the duties and powers of the board of education of the city of New York. The effect of this proposed legislation would not be apparent to the average person, even though he had the bills before him, and we shall therefore present the following analysis of what they were intended to accomplish:—

Assembly Bill No. 1211 provides, (1) that there shall be twenty-nine (29) district superintendents instead of twenty-six (26) as at present; (2) that district superintendents shall be appointed directly by the board of education, and not as now,

upon the nomination by the board of superintendents; and (3) that directors of special branches shall no longer be subject to the direction and supervision of the city superintendent.

Assembly Bill No. 1213 was intended to add the following to the so-called equal pay section of the charter:—

"The board of education shall have the power to adopt by-laws changing the conditions annexed to the salary schedules approved by the board of education on the seventeenth and twenty-fourth days of May, 1911, by providing that the approval of the services of all members of the teaching and supervising staffs for the purpose of entitling them to an increase in salary may be made at periods and by committees or bodies other than those set forth in said salary schedules, provided, however, that such by-laws shall not result in decreasing any salary provided for in said schedules."

The object of this legislation was to remove from the board of examiners the authority to determine what teachers in high schools and training schools are teachers of "superior merit," and therefore entitled to the higher salaries. The result of this measure, if it had become law, would inevitably have been to place all teachers on the same level as to salary, the good with the bad, the superior with the indifferent.

Assembly Bill No. 1214, 1684, adds the following to Section 1100 of the educational chapter of the charter:—

"The president of the board shall have power to designate any member of the supervising or teaching staff to inspect and report upon any subject of which the board has cognizance or over which it has legal control."

The inevitable result of this legislation would have been to introduce confusion and anarchy into the school system. The president of the board of education would have been given authority to designate any member or members of either the supervising or teaching staff to investigate the conduct of their superior officers, or even to investigate the conduct of members of the board of education. It must be obvious to any impartial man that such a power is entirely at variance with that good discipline and that sense of decorum and order which must prevail in any large system, whether municipal, national, business, or educational, where many persons are employed, and where inspection, direction, and supervision are necessary.

Assembly Bill No. 2539 (1) increases the members of the board of examiners from four to six, and (2) removes the nomi-

nation of examiners from the hands of the city superintendent of schools.

The board of examiners is by all odds the most important body in the school system. This board examines all candidates for teachers' positions, and makes eligible lists from which teachers are nominated in order of standing in the examination. It has absolutely eliminated the political, social, and religious influence in the appointment of teachers in the public schools, and has almost succeeded in removing the promotion of teachers from these influences.

In view of this fact, the reason underlying the proposed bill is obvious. It was, first, to take the nomination of members of the board of examiners from the city superintendent, presumably in order that persons might be appointed who would do the bidding of the "powers that be"; and second, to appoint two additional examiners, who are not at all needed, in order to secure a majority in the board of examiners in harmony with the present majority of the board of education.

From this analysis of these measures it will appear at once that their purpose was to deprive the superintendent of schools of some of the most important powers now vested in him, to increase the power of the board of education, and so to shape the administration of school interests that the door would be wide open for the entrance and the full play of political and religious influences.

Further light will be thrown upon this matter, and the explanation of the desire to increase the power of the board of education and to decrease the power of the superintendent of schools will be made perfectly clear, by calling special attention to the following very significant facts concerning the religious preferences of the men who are directly concerned:—

The city superintendent of schools, Dr. William H. Maxwell, is a Protestant.

The forty-six members of the board of education are classified thus:—

Four are known to be Protestants;

Nineteen are known to be Roman Catholics;

Eight are Jews;

Fifteen are doubtful, uncertain, or have no religious preference. Both the president and the vice-president of the board are Roman Catholics.

The executive committee of the board of education consists of sixteen persons. At present there are two vacancies. Of

the fourteen members now acting, eight, including the chairman, are Roman Catholics.

We are informed that a steady campaign has been carried on for years to secure to Roman Catholics the control of the board of education, and it is evident that this desired result has now been attained, for a solid body of nineteen Roman Catholics against twelve Jews and Protestants, with more than an equal chance of influencing the majority of the fifteen doubtful and uncertain members, means that the Roman Catholics are the absolute ruling power on the board.

According to the published claim of Roman Catholics, over fifty per cent of the teachers in the New York public schools are Roman Catholics. According to the conservative estimate of Protestants, the number reaches over sixty per cent.

The facts, then, are simply these: The board of education of the city of New York is under Roman Catholic control; the majority of the teachers in these schools are Roman Catholics; by the charter of Greater New York certain powers were vested in the city superintendent of schools, and the exercise of these powers by a Protestant interfered somewhat with the absolute dominance of the schools by Roman Catholics and the manipulation of this tremendous power in the interest of political Romanism. It was determined to remove this hindrance by making such changes in the charter as would strip the superintendent of these powers and vest them in the board of education.

It is stated that a majority of the members of both branches of the legislature of the State of New York, elected in 1912, were Roman Catholics. At all events, both the assembly and the senate were under the complete control of Tammany Hall, "the secular side of the Roman Catholic Church." It seemed to be the opportune time to secure the desired legislation, and the McKee school bills were accordingly introduced, as already stated.

These bills were quietly passed by the assembly without any hearing being held or any serious opposition being made, and were then sent to the senate. In the meantime some suspicion had been aroused as to the real meaning of this proposed legislation, and a hearing was demanded upon it. This demand however, was held up, and at a propitious time these bills were passed by the senate.

While these well-laid plans were being consummated, the inquiry was made by some friends of this legislation, "What

about the governor?" The reply was made, "O, the governor is all right! We will have no trouble with him." It evidently did not occur to them that any man who occupied the executive chair would dare to resist the requests, the demands, and the threats of the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

In his final omnibus veto, dated June 2, 1913, Governor Sulzer vetoed the McKee school bills. His action was announced in the New York *Times* of June 4, in the following statement:—

"Four school bills introduced by Assemblyman McKee providing for New York charter amendments affecting the department of education were vetoed, presumably on the ground that the General Home Rule Bill passed at the recent session gives the city the power to deal with this situation. *The bills were urged by Tammany, and were intended to curtail the power of the superintendent and to give the board of education and its president more power over the department.*" [Italics ours.]

We shall now introduce the report of the interview between former Governor Sulzer and the editor of the *Protestant Magazine,* which was held in the former's office at 115 Broadway, New York City, on Thursday, April 23. The following outline of the conversation bearing upon this particular question will bring out the leading facts concerning the efforts of the representatives of Rome to induce the governor to give his official approval to those McKee school bills:—

First, a monsignor, a personal representative of Cardinal Farley, visited Governor Sulzer in the executive office and requested him to sign the bills. It thus appeared that the Roman hierarchy was directly interested in securing the passage of such legislation as would give to the board of education, under Roman Catholic control, greater power over the public schools of the city of New York.

Then came Miss Grace C. Strachan, district superintendent of schools of Brooklyn and president of the Interborough Association of Women Teachers, a Roman Catholic whose influence in the public schools of New York City is very powerful. It was under her leadership that arrangements have been made for religious instruction to be given to the Roman Catholic children in the public schools by Roman Catholic public-school teachers in parish buildings after school hours. In the executive mansion at Albany, Miss Strachan pleaded with both Governor and Mrs. Sulzer that the McKee school bills might receive the official approval. To both of these visitors Governor Sulzer made the

same reply: if the bills were found to be honest, just, and in the interest of the people, he would sign them; otherwise, his signature would be withheld.

As Governor Sulzer gave no assurance that he would act according to the wishes of these representative Catholic officials, the pressure was continued from other sources. Delegations of Roman Catholic citizens and churchmen waited upon him with promises of political preferment if he would grant their request, and with threats of political death if he refused their demand. He was plainly told that all Roman Catholic influence in the State would be exerted against him unless he acceded to the wishes of his visitors. To all he made the same reply: if the bills were just, honest, and in the interest of the people, he would sign them, but otherwise he would withhold his signature.

The final personal effort to secure the official approval of the McKee school bills is thus described in Governor Sulzer's own words:—

"A Catholic 'Father' sat at the desk and pleaded with me to sign those school bills. He threatened me, and told me that if I vetoed those bills I would thereby sign my political death warrant, and that I would never hold another political office in the State of New York. I looked him right in the eye and replied: 'There is no man in America who is a better friend of the public schools than I am. They are the corner-stone of the republic, the bulwark of our free institutions, the best guaranty for the open door of opportunity in America. Sooner than to sign a bill which would cripple them, I would cut off my right hand.' To which the priest replied, 'If you do not sign these bills, you might as well cut off your political head.'"

In the New York *Times* of May 21, 1913, there appeared the following paragraph under the heading "Teachers Appeal to Sulzer":—

"The Interborough Association of Women Teachers adopted a resolution last night at a meeting at the Metropolitan Building, asking Governor Sulzer to hold an open meeting and listen to the advocates of the McKee bill before taking action upon it. Miss Grace C. Strachan, president of the association, urged the teachers to send letters and telegrams to Governor Sulzer advocating the bill."

This action of the Interborough Association of Women Teachers, whose membership is composed so largely of Roman Catholics and of which Miss Grace C. Strachan, already men-

tioned as an agent of the Roman Church in this school bill controversy, is the president and controlling figure, will at once be recognized as simply one more move on the part of the Roman Catholics to bring sufficient pressure to bear upon Governor Sulzer to force him to sign the McKee school bills.

In the face of all this opposition, and in spite of promises and cajolery, predictions of political death, and threats of the use of all the Roman Catholic influence for his overthrow, Governor Sulzer vetoed these bills.

It is time now to review the facts presented, and to consider their meaning. Special attention is asked to the following points:—

The board of education of the city of New York is under the control of Roman Catholics, and sixty per cent of the teachers in the public schools are Roman Catholics; but the city superintendent, a Protestant, was not sufficiently subservient to Roman Catholic dictation, and therefore a scheme was concocted to curtail his power.

A large number of the members elected to the New York Legislature in November, 1912, were Roman Catholics, and both branches of that legislature were under the absolute control of Tammany Hall, "the secular side of the Roman Catholic Church."

In that legislature a move was made to secure such changes in the Greater New York charter as would give to the board of education under Roman Catholic control the power which it desired.

A Roman Catholic introduced into the assembly four bills, very adroitly drawn so as to disarm suspicion, which would Romanize the public school system of the city of New York.

These bills were obediently passed by the assembly and the senate, a large number of the members in each case being Roman Catholics.

An organized Roman Catholic campaign was then entered upon to secure the signature of Governor Sulzer to these bills.

A personal representative of Cardinal Farley visited the governor and requested favorable action on these bills. It was doubtless thought that this would be sufficient, and that when Rome had spoken, the case would be ended.

Other Roman Catholics of influence took up the matter and brought more pressure to bear upon the governor.

Promises and threats were freely employed, and that secret

but powerful factor in political life, the Roman Catholic influence, was much in evidence.

A Roman Catholic priest did not hesitate to tell the governor in a face-to-face talk that by refusing to sign those bills he would sign his own political death warrant.

There are some facts concerning the impeachment of Governor Sulzer which will be of interest in this connection:—

Almost exactly one month after the veto of the McKee school bills the machinery for the impeachment of Governor Sulzer was set in motion.

The resolution for impeachment was introduced in the assembly August 11, and was adopted by a vote of seventy-nine to forty-five early in the morning of August 13.

If we are correctly informed, seventy-one out of the seventy-nine who voted for this resolution were Roman Catholics.

The court before which the impeachment trial was held consisted of forty-nine senators and eight judges. If we are correctly informed, thirty-one out of the fifty-seven were Roman Catholics.

Of the seventy-nine members of the assembly who voted for the impeachment resolution, only seventeen were returned to the present assembly. The McKee school bills have not been introduced in the present assembly.

We said that we would let the facts speak for themselves. We have now presented the facts, and they speak in no uncertain tones. They sound a note of warning to the American people. They testify that the Roman hierarchy is seeking to obtain control of the public schools. They testify that when legislation is necessary in order to secure this control, Roman Catholics can be depended upon to pass the necessary legislation. They testify that promises of political preferment and threats of political death are employed by Roman Catholics to influence a governor who announces his purpose to do his official duty. They testify that there is a tremendous power working in American politics for the benefit of a professedly religious organization, and that this power must be reckoned with if American institutions are to be preserved.

We are not so much concerned with the exact nature of the McKee school bills, although we have plainly showed their purpose; neither does it make any special difference in the discussion of this matter whether the powers of the board of education of the city of New York ought or ought not to be increased; what does concern us, and it concerns us greatly, is the most

flagrant interference on the part of the Roman Catholic hierarchy with politics, and its attempt to use its great power to force a governor of a great State to do its bidding. Talk about the separation of church and state; talk about the Roman Catholic Church not being in politics; talk about there being no effort to control legislation in the interest of Roman Catholicism! What do these facts show? The smooth but specious utterances of Roman Catholic orators who try to make the American people believe that the Roman hierarchy is concerned only with things spiritual, become sounding brass and tinkling cymbals after this recital. They should hereafter be taken for what they are actually worth, and for nothing more.

Furthermore, it is demonstrated that a legislature under Roman Catholic control will do the bidding of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, obliterating all political lines and acting simply as Roman Catholics. What was done in the New York Legislature can be done in any legislature under Roman Catholic dominance. This indicates very forcibly the Roman peril in this country.

Again we urge a campaign of publicity. Let the people know what it will mean to this country if the program "to make America Catholic" succeeds. We protest against the use by Protestants of some of the methods and arguments employed in behalf of Roman Catholics. The cause of truth will be injured by the employment of any such means of defense. But let us educate, educate, educate the people.

The story which is here told ought to be read in every home in America.

THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO

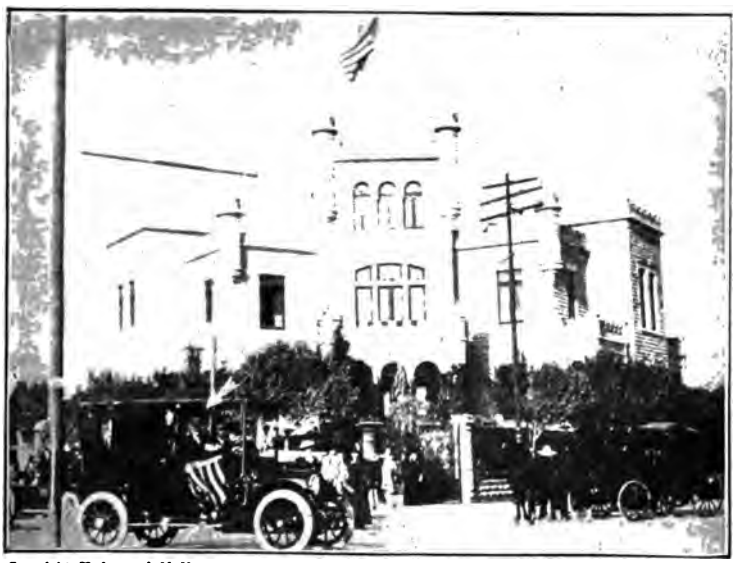
THE acquisition of new territory by the United States as an outcome of the war with Spain, and the extension southward of its possessions by that act, together with the acquisition of the Panama Canal territory at the expense of Colombia, were not viewed with equanimity by the republics of Central and South America. In these acts they saw much to justify the fear and distrust with which they had come to regard their giant neighbor on the north. To the people of Latin America, aggression based upon the possession of power is a much more comprehensible procedure on the part of a nation than one of disinterested benevolence; and not even the withdrawal of the United States troops from Cuba after intervention in that country, convinced

them that the Washington government had no ambitious designs upon the territory of its less powerful sister republics. When therefore the news was flashed to the world that the United States forces had occupied Vera Cruz, because of a refusal to salute the American flag, the Latin republics were ready to believe that the salute incident was but an excuse for a war of aggression and conquest with the purpose of extending the southern boundary of the United States to the Panama Canal.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

One thing that has played a very important part in shaping the attitude of the United States toward other powers of the western hemisphere, and in molding the feeling of those powers toward the United States, is the now-famous Monroe Doctrine. This was the pronouncement made by President Monroe in his message to Congress in 1823, against any further extension of the monarchical systems of Europe in the western hemisphere. "The occasion has been judged proper," he said, "for asserting as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent conditions which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers."

It is not the language of the pronouncement itself, so much as the construction that has been placed upon it by the statesmen of this and of other countries, that has made the Monroe Doctrine the important factor that it is to-day in the problem of international relations. As understood to-day it means much more than it meant in the days of President Monroe. There was in progress at that time a dispute over boundary lines in the northwest between Russia, the United States, and Great Britain, and vast tracts of land on the North American continent still remained unexplored and unclaimed. But of greater importance than this was the fact that a "Holy Alliance" of Europe, formed by Russia, Austria, and Prussia, aimed to crush the spirit of republicanism throughout the world, a part of which task would be the reimposition of the yoke of Spain upon the South American colonies then in a state of revolt. Russia, furthermore, purposed to colonize the Pacific coast of North America. This proposed action of the Holy Alliance was equally distasteful to England, whose commercial relations with the South American states were threatened, and England proposed to the United States a joint declaration by the two governments



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United States Embassy, Mexico City

against the scheme of the Holy Alliance. Before receiving a reply from the United States, England served notice of her unfriendly attitude toward it. Immediately following this came President Monroe's message to Congress declaring against any extension of Old World sovereignties in the domain of the New World. "We owe it therefore to candor and the amicable relations existing between the United States and these powers," the message said, "to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies and dependencies of any European power we have not interfered nor shall we interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and manifested it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or in any other manner controlling their destiny, other than as a manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

This was not understood to refer to acquisition of American territory on the part of European powers by gift or purchase or by conquest of the Indians; but in 1845 President Polk ex-

tended the principle by an official utterance saying: "It should be distinctly announced to the world as our settled policy, that no future European colony or dominion shall with our consent be planted or established in any part of the North American continent." The doctrine has since then been extended to cover Central and South America as well.

It might be supposed that the lesser American republics would view with favor the protection against European aggression thrown around them by the Monroe Doctrine; but for various reasons this is not the case to-day. In the first place, they do not feel that they need the protection of the United States against Europe, being now strong enough to protect themselves; and the Monroe Doctrine does not protect them against aggression by the United States, of which they see greater danger than of invasion from across the sea. They resent, also, the assumption of superiority and of guardianship by the United States which in their view the doctrine implies.

In South America, moreover, the Monroe Doctrine is interpreted as an attempt to interfere with the political freedom of the Latin republics and force upon them the political mold of the Anglo-Saxon government of North America. This is the view expressed by the president of Argentina in a recently-published book. Speaking of that part of the Monroe Doctrine which relates to the imposition of European forms of government upon American territory, this South American statesman says:—

"This fragment of Monroe's message shows him as passionately attached to the political system of the United States, which is understandable in view of the success of that country's institutions and the wisdom of its organic structure. This was right so far as it applied to the territory of the United States, but ceased being so when it trespassed upon the form of government of nations no less independent than those of Europe.

"His words regarding the political system of the nations of America could not have been of graver importance. They imply a restriction of the autonomous power of those nations to give themselves the form of government best suited to their character and sociological conditions; they imply forcing them into the mold of a nation which, in adopting its form of government, exercised the identical right demanded and exercised by other nations. . . .

"In the name of what principle can this interference for the purpose of directing and constituting the political organization

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Chapultepec Castle, the Gibraltar of Mexico, Located Two Miles Outside Mexico City. A Military School Is Established Here Corresponding to That of the United States at West Point

of the new republics be justified? Were these republics even consulted? Was there a plebiscite representing the whole continent which sanctioned the extension of the institutions of the northern republic to the whole hemisphere? . . .

"Surely, it would be more protecting and generous to impose upon us not only the American Constitution but American laws."

In the light of such statements from the head of the leading republic of South America, it can not be said that the Monroe Doctrine is to-day a strong factor in the preservation of international peace. Among the nations of this hemisphere it is, if we may give weight to the words just quoted, a disturbing influence rather than a bond of union. It is viewed as the proclamation of a sort of protectorate over the lesser American republics by their powerful neighbor, the continued assertion of which is regarded by them with dislike and distrust. Whatever may be said in its favor, it places the United States in an unfortunate position among the nations of the Western World. The people of Latin America do not feel friendly toward the "Gringo" nation, and when trouble arose between the United States and Mexico this fact was made evident by popular demonstrations in South American cities. The offer of mediation

made by the three leading nations of South America and accepted by President Wilson was prompted, no doubt, not so much by the desire for peace as by the idea of placing the South American republics on a plane of equality with the Washington government before the world.

President Wilson's attitude toward Mexico, as shown by his refusal to recognize the Huerta government, after having sent a special agent to Mexico to ascertain the facts pertaining to President Madero's overthrow and Huerta's rise to power, is regarded in some quarters as having the effect of committing the United States to the policy of requiring the nations of the western hemisphere to stand on their good behavior or incur the penalty of non-recognition by the predominant nation in the Western World. The aforesaid special agent, Mr. William Bayard Hale, says on this point:—

"The Central American is accused of being a congenital revolutionist. . . . But in sober truth, most revolutions are 'promoted' from Europe in a regular way of business, exactly as a real estate scheme or an industrial combination is, or used to be, 'promoted' in America. When revoluting ceases to be profitable it will cease altogether. The way to make the business of promoting revolutions unprofitable is to see that promoted revolutions do not succeed.

"This is what Mr. Wilson is aiming at, if I understand aright. It would not, of course, be possible for a nation which was itself born in revolution to take the position that all efforts of oppressed men to 'abolish the forms to which they have been accustomed and to institute a new government' must be discountenanced. Therefore it is necessary to scrutinize each revolution by itself, and to judge whether it be, or be not, morally justifiable.

"That duty the United States has now assumed, as I understand it, or indeed, as any one can see. When Mr. Wilson took steps to inform himself of the facts regarding the Huerta coup d' état, with a view to passing a moral judgment upon the rightfulness of the defacto government in Mexico City, he took, it seems to me, the most far-reaching and fateful step which the Monroe Doctrine has inspired in all the process of its evolution."

That this new outgrowth of the Monroe Doctrine — if Mr. Hale's position is correct — will be agreeable to any of the republics subject to its application, no one can for a moment believe.

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Catholic Cathedral, Mexico City

TROUBLE WITH MEXICO

The trouble between the United States and Mexico arose out of the unfriendly acts of an arbitrary and irresponsible dictator who by a coup d' état had put out of the way the regularly-chosen president and had placed himself at the head of affairs in the Mexican capital. Tracing back the events which led up to this situation, we find them to be an outgrowth of the long struggle in Mexico between the masses of the people, the peons, and the rich and privileged class which has held the reins of government in its hands, and by whom the peons have been reduced to virtual slavery. The master class in Mexico owned all the valuable land, one individual sometimes possessing many thousands of acres; the peons, of course, being employed to do the work on these vast tracts. Without education, without property, without any knowledge of God or of the principles of Christianity, without voice in the affairs of state and with no rights which his master felt bound to respect, the condition of the Mexican peon was unfortunate in the extreme. And this un-

fortunate class comprises nine-tenths of the fifteen millions of people inhabiting the country.

The foundation for this condition of society was laid by the Spanish conquest of Mexico. Unlike their Indian neighbors on the north, the aboriginal people of Mexico were susceptible of being reduced to slavery, and this ready source of cheap labor fostered the growth of immense landed estates. On this point a Mexican historian has said:—

"In spite of the utmost effort on the part of the Saxon invaders [of North America] to enslave the Indian, he remained free. A nomad, a hunter, living in brotherly equality with his fellows, he either succumbed to the bullets of the white man in desperate defense of his hunting grounds, or retreated to remoter fastnesses. Slavery, subjection, restraint, were all utterly against his nature. The Saxon colonist, unable to possess himself of slaves, was compelled to perform his own labor, and therefore confined himself to the appropriation of just as much land as he could conveniently cultivate unaided. Of what use was more to him? His fellow colonists, his equals on the physical, social, and economic fields, were by no means fit subjects for servitude. Hence arose, by economic necessity, a relative agrarian democracy, in which a very large proportion of the colonists became owners of as much land as they could personally cultivate. . . .

"In Mexico, on the other hand, the invading Spaniards found not barbarism, but a feudal civilization, private ownership of land in place of communal ownership, and serfdom in place of nomadic liberty. With fire and sword they laid waste a civilization in many respects superior to their own; and the fighting element among the natives once subjected or exterminated, the serfs fell perforce into the most abject servitude to their new masters. Thus the Spanish colonists in Mexico, far from being limited, like the Saxon colonists in the North, to as much land as they could personally cultivate, were enabled to appropriate immense tracts limited in extent only by the number of natives whom they could force to perform serf labor for them. Through the private ownership of these immense estates and the corresponding servitude of the tillers of the soil, there arose in Mexico an economic system closely resembling the feudal system then predominant in Europe. But while in Europe and in all the European colonies capitalism has superseded feudalism, in Mexico feudalism still remains to a large extent the economic

Photo by Paul Thompson

Porfirio Diaz, President of Mexico from 1876 to 1911. Diaz believed in arbitrary rule and used the military power in the form of the famous Rurales to enforce his decrees.

foundation of the country. Now, as then, Mexico is a country of great land owners and landless peons."

After many uprisings and revolutions, Mexico attained a condition of outward stability under the leadership of Porfirio Diaz. But the problems which were at the bottom of Mexico's internal troubles were not settled. Diaz came into power not by any expression of the popular will, but by a military uprising, back of which, if we may believe the testimony of Mexican historians, were foreign business speculators of wealth who knew that Diaz would be favorable to their plans. Diaz entered the Mexican capital in November, 1876, at the head of his army and was proclaimed provisional president of the republic. Two months later a farcical congressional election was held, and Diaz was declared elected to the presidency by unanimous vote of the people. With clock-like regularity Diaz was reelected to the same office for the ensuing thirty years. The elections were of course a farce, Mexico being a republic in name only. In reality the country was ruled by an oligarchy with a dictator at its head, who did not hesitate to employ the severest measures against any opposition to his decrees.

Numerous "concessions" to foreign capitalists, for building railways, operating mines, etc., were granted by the Diaz government. These grants carried with them the right to the unrestricted occupation and use of large tracts of land. The peons upon these lands were ruthlessly dispossessed of their holdings, though guaranteed to them by the national constitution and

justly belonging to them by the fact of long occupancy and payment of taxes. On this point the Mexican historian says:—

"In regard to these land concessions it will be remembered that when the constitution of 1857, in enunciating the principle that the sole title to personal ownership in the land rests in the personal cultivation of the land, confiscated at a blow the vast illicit holdings of the church, and restored them to the use of the people, the peons, unused to legalities failed to protect their titles, justly enough regarding the constitution itself as the chief warranty of their continued possession of the land in general, and the municipal tax records as sufficient evidence of their ownership in particular. This fine faith of the people now formed the pretext for their wholesale eviction from their holdings. The terms of the land concessions granted by Diaz throughout his administrative career permitted the individual or corporate concessionaire to denounce and appropriate all the *unrecorded land* within the confines of a given area. Thus was begun the cruelest campaign of land dispossession in history. The peon, now an independent farmer, challenged for his perfected title by the agents of the land companies, was unable to produce it. In vain he pointed to the constitution; in vain he pointed to the evidence of his proprietorship contained in the municipal tax records. Land was rising in value; the introduction of the railroads and the inrush of capital had excited the greed of the despoilers to the extreme. The peon was evicted summarily and without even the formality of an investigation; and the eviction was backed up by all the force of the government and the army."

In some cases, according to the historian, the hapless peons were not only evicted but were put out of the way by wholesale massacre. Almost incredible accounts are given of the atrocities committed by the Diaz soldiery, rivaling the blackest pages in the records of the Dark Ages. For example, in the winter of 1885, says the author of "The Mexican People," there were living in the rich valley of Papantla, in the State of Vera Cruz, twenty thousand industrious people engaged in the raising of coffee, cocoa, sugar-cane, pineapples, and other subtropical products. "One day a party of surveyors appeared in the valley with their transits. The people knew only too well the meaning of this invasion, and filled with foreboding, they protested to the surveyors that they had no desire to have their lands measured even if the government had ordered it, for those lands were their own private property by the warranty of the constitution.

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A Company of the Famous Mexican Rurales, So Much Depended On by President Diaz

The surveyors persisted and the next day reappeared with a party of rurales. Again the people protested, but this time they were silenced by force, and in the clash that ensued several lives were lost on both sides. Four days later a force consisting of several thousand rurales and a division of the army entered the valley and began the systematic extermination of the population. How many were killed will never be known. About ten years ago in the course of our investigations we visited this valley and endeavored to elicit some details of the affair from the people. Neither man, woman, nor child could be induced to say a word, because already a number of them had met death, banishment, imprisonment, or flogging, for even speaking of it. In spite of this dumbness of the people however, we obtained independent proof that for fifteen days the slaughter never ceased, that not a man escaped alive, that only a remnant of women and children were spared, and that the task of burying the dead was so great that a month later the air for miles around the valley was unbreathable owing to the stench of the putrefying corpses. To-day this whole region, where once twenty thousand peaceable, industrious folk obtained a prosperous living from the soil, belongs to a single rich family."

From these statements the reader can readily understand the

Photo by Paul Thompson

Francisco Madero, President of Mexico from 1911 to 1913. Madero was opposed by the Catholic and Cientifico parties, who by their machinations finally accomplished his overthrow and death.

reasons underlying the revolution which unseated Diaz in 1911, and the support given by the peons to Villa and Carranza in their campaign for the overthrow of Huerta. The revolution against Diaz was successful, but the leader whom it elevated to the presidency, Francisco Madero, did not prove equal to the opportunity before him, and his career as head of the Mexican government was troubled and brief. Either from weakness or insincerity he failed to carry out the pledge of the revolution to restore the agrarian rights of the people, nor were the abuses of the Diaz régime put down. Conditions under the Madero government went from bad to worse, culminating finally in February, 1913, in the overthrow of Madero by the treachery of his army officers.

The history of the republic of Mexico shows how a ruling class constituting but a fraction of the whole people, can with the aid of a standing army selected and trained for the purpose, the money of foreign "big business" concerns, and the powerful influence of religion exercised through an avaricious church, reduce the mass of the people to serfdom and make impotent their struggles for liberty. The people of the United States are not saved from this fate because the nation is Anglo-Saxon, but because of the general intelligence diffused by the public school, and the influence of the Bible in church and home. No true American can view with indifference, much less with satisfaction, the rapid growth in this country of an ecclesiastical power which is hostile to both the Bible and the public school; which has

suppressed the Bible in every land where it has had the power to do so, and whose supremacy has everywhere and always been associated with dense ignorance on the part of the people.

Photo by Paul Thompson

Victoriano Huerta, Dictator President of Mexico from February, 1913, to July, 1914. Huerta was of unmixed Indian descent, and his administration was largely under the direction of his Catholic advisers and supporters.

PRESIDENT WILSON AND HUERTA

With the question before him of according recognition to the Huerta government, President Wilson sent a special agent, Mr. William Bayard Hale, to Mexico City to investigate the circumstances connected with Madero's overthrow and Huerta's rise to power. This special agent brought back the following report:—

"The coup d' état that overthrew Madero in February, 1913, was in no way a revolution. It was a barracks plot, a conspiracy of a few army officers, financed by Cientificos [the ruling class associated with former-President Diaz], and a few Spanish reactionaries. It was attended by circumstances of treachery so execrable, of villainy so fantastic, of cruelty so barbarous, that the story is one which the mind has difficulty in accepting as credible.

"The chief actor, Huerta, an ape-like Indian, aged, one-eyed, subsisting on brandy, when the moment of his triumph was fully come, rose from breakfasting with the president's brother, beckoned a file of soldiers, arrested him, and had him carried away to be shot to death and his body thrown into a hole; went to the palace, embraced the president, whose chief commander he had become through protestations of faithfulness to death, and signalled in guards to arrest him. By

promises of safe conduct out of the country the treacherous general secured the signatures of President Madero and Vice-president Suarez to deeds of resignation; hastily gathered less than a quorum of congressmen in a chamber filled with soldiers and commanded by artillery; had himself acknowledged as president; carried Madero and Suarez out into the night and had them shot to death behind the prison."

A report of such a character naturally did not influence President Wilson in the direction of recognizing Huerta as the head of the Mexican nation. He established the precedent of scrutinizing revolutions in Latin America before according recognition to the governments arising out of them. Governments based on usurpation and assassination will not henceforth, if this precedent is followed, obtain recognition from the United States.

This attitude on the part of the Washington government was fatal to Huerta. Without recognition from the great predominant power in the western hemisphere, his government could not hope to succeed. His attitude toward the United States and its citizens in Mexico became hostile accordingly. The latter were ill-treated and their property confiscated or destroyed. A long series of incidents of this character culminated on April 9, 1914, in the arrest at Tampico of a boat's crew from the United States steamship "Dolphin" who had gone ashore to obtain supplies. They were afterwards released with an apology, but the American commander at that port demanded that a salute be given the American flag. This President Huerta, after some parleying, flatly refused to do. Whereupon President Wilson addressed the following message to Congress asking that body to sanction the use of military force to obtain satisfaction from the Mexican government:—

"Gentlemen of the Congress:—

"It is my duty to call your attention to a situation which has arisen in our dealings with General Victoriano Huerta at Mexico City, which calls for action, and to ask your advice and cooperation in acting upon it. On the ninth of April a paymaster of the United States steamship 'Dolphin' landed at the Iturbide bridge landing at Tampico, with a whale-boat and boat's crew to take off certain supplies needed by his ship, and while engaged in loading the boat, was arrested by an officer and squad of men of the army of General Huerta.

"Neither the paymaster nor any one of the boat's crew was armed. Two of the men were in the boat when the arrest took

Photo by Boston Photo-News Co.

The Fighting in Mexico City. Irregulars and Volunteers Firing From Behind Barricades in the Streets

Photo by Boston Photo-News Co.

Marking the Spot Where President Madero and Vice-President Suarez Were **Murdered Behind the Prison Wall in Mexico City**

THE NEW YORK

place and were obliged to leave it and submit to be taken into custody, notwithstanding the fact that the boat carried both on its bow and at its stern the flag of the United States.

"The officer who made the arrest was proceeding up one of the streets of the town with his prisoners when met by an officer of higher authority, who ordered him to return to the landing and await orders, and within an hour and a half from the time of the arrest, orders were received from the commander of the Huertista forces at Tampico for the release of the paymaster and his men.

"The release was followed by apologies from the commander and later by an expression of regret from General Huerta himself. General Huerta urged that martial law obtained at the time at Tampico; that orders had been issued that no one should be allowed to land at the Iturbide bridge and that our sailors had no right to land there.

"Our naval commanders at the port had not been notified of any such prohibition, and, even if they had been, the only justifiable course open to the local authorities would have been to request the paymaster and his crew to withdraw and to lodge a protest with the commanding officer of the fleet.

"Admiral Mayo regarded the arrest as so serious an affront that he was not satisfied with the apologies offered, but demanded that the flag of the United States be saluted with special ceremony by the military commander of the port.

"The incident can not be regarded as a trivial one, especially as two of the men arrested were taken from the boat itself — that is to say, from the territory of the United States; but, had it stood by itself, it might have been attributed to the ignorance or arrogance of a single officer.

"Unfortunately it was not an isolated case. A series of incidents have recently occurred which can not but create the impression that the representatives of General Huerta were willing to go out of their way to show disregard for the dignity and rights of this government and felt perfectly safe in doing what they pleased, making free to show in many ways their irritation and contempt.

"A few days after the incident at Tampico an orderly from the United States steamship 'Minnesota' was arrested at Vera Cruz, while ashore in uniform to obtain the ship's mail, and was for a time thrown into jail.

"An official dispatch from this government to its embassy at Mexico City was withheld by the authorities of the telegraphic

service until peremptorily demanded by our chargé d' affaires in person.

"So far as I can learn, such wrongs and annoyances have been suffered only to occur against representatives of the United States. I have heard of no complaints from any other government of similar treatment. Subsequent explanations and formal apologies did not and could not alter the popular impression which it is possible it had been the object of the Huertista authorities to create, that the government of the United States was being singled out and might be singled out with impunity for slights and affronts in retaliation for its refusal to recognize the pretensions of General Huerta to be regarded as the constitutional provisional president of the republic of Mexico.

"The manifest danger of such a situation was that such offenses might grow from bad to worse until something happened of so gross and intolerable a sort as to lead directly and inevitably to armed conflict.

"It was necessary that apologies of General Huerta and his representatives should go much further, that they should be such as to attract the attention of the whole population to their significance, and such as to impress upon General Huerta himself the necessity of seeing to it that no further occasion for explanations and professed regrets should arise.

"I, therefore, felt it my duty to sustain Admiral Mayo in the whole of his demand, and to insist that the flag of the United States should be saluted in such a way as to indicate a new spirit and attitude on the part of the Huertistas.

"Such a salute General Huerta has refused, and I have come to ask your approval and support in the course I now purpose to pursue.

"This government can, I earnestly hope, in no circumstances be forced into war with the people of Mexico. Mexico is torn by civil strife. If we are to accept the tests of its own constitution it has no government. General Huerta has set his power up in the City of Mexico, such as it is, without right and by methods for which there can be no justification. Only part of the country is under his control.

"If armed conflict should, unhappily, come as a result of his attitude of personal resentment toward this government, we should be fighting only General Huerta and those who adhere to him and give him their support, and our object would be only to restore to the people of the distracted republic the opportunity to set up again their own laws and their own government.

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General View of Vera Cruz, Mexico, Looking from Lighthouse Tower

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Tampico, Mexico, Where Occurred the Arrest of a Boat Crew from the U. S. S. "Dolphin," Which Led to President Wilson's Demand for an Apology

AND
NDATIONS

Photo by Boston Photo-News Co.

Office of the Mexican *Herald*, After the Fighting Which Attended the Overthrow of President Madero's Government

"But I earnestly hope that war is not now in question. I believe that I speak for the American people when I say that we do not desire to control in any degree the affairs of our sister republic. Our feeling for the people of Mexico is one of deep and genuine friendship, and everything that we have so far done or refrained from doing has proceeded from our desire to help them, not to hinder nor embarrass them.

"We would not wish even to exercise the good offices of friendship without their welcome and consent. The people of Mexico are entitled to settle their own domestic affairs in their own way, and we sincerely desire to respect their right.

"The present situation need have none of the grave complications of interference if we deal with it promptly, firmly, and wisely.

"No doubt I could do what is necessary in the circumstances to enforce respect for our government without recourse to the Congress and yet not exceed my constitutional powers as President; but I do not wish to act in a matter possibly of so grave consequence except in close conference and cooperation with both the Senate and the House.

Photo by Boston Photo-News Co.

An Example of the Fate of American Residences in Mexico Under Huerta's Regime

"I therefore come to ask your approval that I should use the armed forces of the United States in such ways and to such an extent as may be necessary to obtain from General Huerta and his adherents the fullest recognition of the rights and dignity of the United States even amidst the distressing conditions now unhappily obtaining in Mexico.

"There can, in what we do, be no thought of aggression or of selfish aggrandizement. We seek to maintain the dignity and authority of the United States only because we wish always to keep our great influence unimpaired for the uses of liberty, both in the United States and wherever else it may be employed for the benefit of mankind."

Congress promptly voted to sustain President Wilson and instructions were sent to Rear-admiral Fletcher, American commander at Vera Cruz, to seize the custom-house there at his discretion. Orders were also given for the concentration of an American fleet in Mexican waters, to the number of fifty-two vessels in all, of which thirty-six were to be on the east coast and sixteen on the Pacific coast. This fleet carried a force of 22,775 men.

Hostilities began April 22. Early in the morning of that day marines were landed from the battle-ships in the harbor under orders to take possession of the city. The Mexican troops in the city fired upon the landing parties from the shelter of houses and from roofs, and the American war-ships subjected the city to a bombardment which wrought quick ruin wherever it was directed. The city was soon in possession of the Ameri-

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Sending Troops Ashore From the U. S. Fleet at Vera Cruz, After Huerta's Refusal to Salute the Flag

Photo by Paul Thompson, N. Y.

A Torpedo Boat of the U. S. Fleet

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Photo by Boston Photo-News Co.

President Huerta and His Cabinet

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U. S. Troops Hauling Field Artillery to Outskirts of Vera Cruz

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U. S. Troops Holding Government Building at Vera Cruz, With Three-inch Field Gun

can forces, at a cost of six men killed and eleven others seriously wounded. The Mexican loss was estimated at about one hundred and fifty killed and wounded. General Maass, the Mexican commander, withdrew his forces from Vera Cruz in the di-

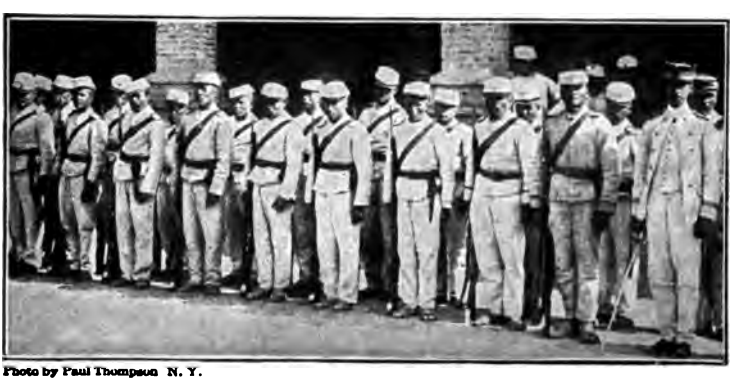

Photo by Paul Thompson N. Y.

Mexican Federal Soldiers, Mexico City

Photo by Paul Thompson, N. Y.

Rear-Admiral Fletcher

rection of Mexico City, sending parties of his men to burn bridges and destroy railway communication between Vera Cruz and the interior.

On May 30 Brigadier-general Frederick Funston, under orders from Washington, arrived with a strong force of soldiers and assumed command at Vera Cruz. Military operations were however suspended by the action of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, who offered to mediate between the United States and Huerta, this offer being accepted April 25 by President Wilson, and by Huerta on the following day. The plan agreed upon was that representatives of these three South American republics should meet with delegates representing the United States and General Huerta, and arrange terms of peace. President Wilson appointed Justice Lamar of the United States Supreme Court and ex-Solicitor-General Lehmann to represent the United States, and Huerta appointed as his representatives Emilio Rabasa, Agustin Rodriguez, and Luis Elguero. The South American mediators were Senor Domicio, representing Brazil, who presided at the conference, Senor Don Eduardo Suarez, representing Chile, and Senor Romulo S. Naon, representing Argentina. The mediation conference assembled at Niagara Falls, Canada, on May 20.

Difficulties of a seemingly insuperable character were encountered by the conference; not however with reference to the attitude of Huerta in refusing to salute the American flag, which point, it is worthy of note, never appears to have come before the conference at all. Instead of mediating between Huerta and

the United States, for which purpose the conference was ostensibly called, the mediators turned at once to the consideration of the internal problems of Mexico and the setting up of a provisional government in the place of the rule of General Huerta.

It was the unalterable purpose of President Wilson that Huerta should be eliminated in the settlement of Mexican affairs; while Huerta, quite naturally, did not desire or expect to be eliminated, and had not appointed delegates to the conference for such a purpose. Huerta's representatives proposed that Huerta should appoint a minister of foreign affairs in the Mexican cabinet who should be acceptable to all parties to the conference, this person to succeed Huerta in the presidency upon the latter's resignation which would then be forthcoming. The United States objected on the ground that a recognition of a government so provided would be tantamount to a recognition of Huerta. President Wilson further insisted that the provisional president selected must be a representative of the revolutionary or Constitutionalist party, for the reason that any government not representing the Constitutionalists would be out of harmony with the dominant element in Mexico and therefore would prove ineffective. To such a selection the representatives of Huerta would not agree. Another serious difficulty was that the revolutionary party headed by General Carranza and led in the field by the victorious General Villa, was not represented at the conference at all. The Mexican delegates were willing that the Constitutionalist party should participate in the peace pro-

Photo by Boston Photo-News Co.
General Frederick Funston, Head of the U. S. Army at Vera Cruz

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The Mediation Conference in Session at Niagara Falls, Canada. At the end of the table, sitting, are the representatives of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. On the right are the representatives of Huerta, and on the left, those of the United States.

ceedings, but only on condition that there should be a suspension of hostilities on its part. To this General Carranza would not agree, knowing that with hostilities suspended his army would disintegrate, to the great advantage of Huerta. In this situation, and with the Constitutionalist forces constantly advancing toward the Mexican capital, it was not strange that the conference failed to make any substantial progress toward the establishment of peace and a permanent government in Mexico.

In this sudden intervention of the South American republics and the shifting of the issue from the apology demanded of Huerta to the settlement of Mexican internal problems, there was manifested the working of another mind and another power besides those represented by Huerta and his cabinet. Huerta, it is well known, had neither the education nor the diplomatic training to make a favorable showing in any international crisis, even had he addressed himself soberly and industriously to the task, instead of indulging continuously in brandy and spending most of his time in his auto, as he was reported to do. Yet he conducted affairs of state in a skilful and dignified man-

ner, and his cause lost no ground in the events growing out of the intervention of the South American states. Some power friendly to Huerta evidently was behind the scenes, constituting the real agency with which the United States had been dealing in its relations with the Mexican government. And the question of the identity of this secret agency is readily answered. It need only be remembered that Huerta was on friendly terms with that past-master of politics and diplomacy, the Roman Catholic Church. But we are not left to depend upon inference, for we have direct Catholic testimony on the subject, in the following taken from the *Western Watchman* of May 7:—

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General Venustiano Carranza, Political Head of the Constitutionalist Forces

"Everybody is asking the question: who is Huerta's adviser? He has maintained himself from the beginning with consummate dignity and his position has been consistent and statesmanlike. He is a man of little education and his alleged habits preclude the possibility of mature deliberation. But he has made no mistakes and his every move indicates consummate diplomacy. Who is behind him?

"We have before stated in these columns that Huerta was on the best of terms with the Catholic party and was a personal friend of the Archbishop of Mexico City, with whom he dined regularly twice a week. This brings him in close touch with the personnel of the Apostolic Legation. Church diplomats are the safest and shrewdest in the world. Canon law is a safe guide in the intricate defiles of international politics. Who suggested to Huerta that it was illogical and inconsistent to

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Secretary Bryan Talking with American Consul-General Silliman, Who Was Arrested and Imprisoned by Huerta at Saltillo

demand an apology from one you refuse to recognize? It knocked our resourceful Secretary of State completely off his feet, and he has not had a leg to stand on for a month. Like the demonstration of Columbus with the egg, it is very simple when one's attention is called to it. But the guarded assent to mediation expressed by the wily Indian is a masterpiece of diplomacy. He has all the machinery of mediation in motion, yet no one can say just what he will do. He has the whole world guessing.

"All the great leaders of men since the Christian era began were in close touch with the church, and were guided by her wisdom and experience."

The Catholic Church in Mexico well knew what she had to expect from the success of Villa and the peons who are struggling for their rights. That church has not been the friend of the common people in Mexico, but the friend of the privileged class by whom the peons were enslaved. Since the intervention by the South American powers, every effort has been made either to bring pressure upon Carranza and Villa from the United States, or to secure an armistice which would stay the victorious march of the Constitutionalists toward the Mexican capital. This was the diplomacy not of the untutored Huerta, but of Huerta's papal advisers.

A LESSON FROM MEXICAN HISTORY

The history of Mexico, which is but little known in the United States, affords some very instructive lessons on the subject of the attitude of the Catholic Church toward popular government. The Mexican constitution adopted in the revolution of 1857 was framed in the interests of the common people, and contained provisions for the safeguarding of what in the United States are spoken of as "inalienable rights," being in this respect similar to the Constitution of the United States. On the subjects of personal liberty, freedom of the press, and separation of church and state it spoke as follows:—

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Francisco Villa, (on the right) Military Leader of the Mexican Constitutionalist Forces. On the left, General Ortego

"Article II. In the republic every one is born free. The slaves who step into the national territory recover their liberty by this mere fact, and have the right of the protection of the law.

"Article V. No man shall be compelled to work without his plain consent and without just compensation. The state will not permit to become effective any contract, pact, or agreement with the purpose of curtailment, the loss, or the irrevocable sacrifice of the liberty of any man, may the cause be for personal labor, education, or religious vows. The law in consequence does not recognize monastic orders, and will not permit their establishment, no matter what may be the denomination or purpose for which they pretend to be established. Neither will be permitted a contract or agreement by which a man makes a pact for his proscription or exile.

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U. S. Marines Reembarking After Turning Vera Cruz Over to U. S. Troops Under General Funston

"Article VI. The expression of ideas shall not be subjected to any judicial or governmental prosecution except in cases of attack upon the public morality, the rights of a third party, or the prevention of a crime or a disturbance of public order.

"Article VII. The liberty of writing and publishing writings upon any matter is inviolable. No previous censorship nor imposition of bonds upon the writers nor the publishers for the purpose of curtailing the freedom of the press can be established by any law or authority, such freedom being restricted to respect of private life, morals, and public business.

"Article XIII. In the Mexican republic no one shall be subjected to private laws nor special courts. No man or corporation shall enjoy *fueros* nor receive emoluments unless they be a compensation for public services and already fixed by law.

"Article XXVII. Private property shall not be taken without the consent of the owner, except in cases of public utility and by just payment therefor. Religious corporations or institutions, no matter of what denomination, character, durability, or purpose, and civil corporations when under the patronage,

direction, or superintendency of religious institutions, or ministers of any cult, shall not have the legal capacity to acquire or manage any real estate except the buildings which are used immediately and directly for the services of the said institutions; neither will the law recognize any mortgage on any property held by these institutions.

"Article XXVIII. Church and state are independent. Congress can not make any law establishing or forbidding any religion."

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A Church Tower in Vera Cruz After the Bombardment by the U. S. Battleships

ROME AND THE CONSTITUTION

The attitude of the Catholic Church toward the constitution containing these provisions is described in the following extracts from a recently-published book entitled, "The Mexican People: Their Struggle for Freedom," published by Doubleday, Page and Co., New York:—

"The constitution which had brought such blessing to the peon brought naught but destruction to the strongest and best-organized institutions in Mexico. Accustomed only to the exercise of tyranny, and utterly unused and untrained to obedience to the civil law, the church and army struggled fiercely against the impending destruction of their privilege to plunder and oppress. When the Secretary of the Interior issued orders that all government employees should take the oath of obedience to the constitution, the church deliberately advised and commanded disobedience to the order. According to Zamacois, 'The Archbishop of Mexico, Don Lazaro de la Garza, announced in circulars sent to the bishops a few days after the order for

Photo by Paul Thompson, N. Y.

Rear-Admiral Badger, U. S. N.

the taking of the oath had been given, that since the articles of this constitution were inimical to the institution, doctrine, and rites of the Catholic Church, neither the clergymen nor laymen could take this oath under any pretext whatever. In view of this communication the bishops of all the dioceses sent circulars to their respective country vicars and the parish curates, and to the other ecclesiastics, informing them, first, that it was not lawful to swear allegiance to the constitution because its articles were contrary to the institution, doctrine, and rites of the Catholic Church; second, that this communication must be made public, and copies of it distributed as widely as possible; third, that those who had made this oath must retract it at the confessional and make this retraction as public as possible, and that they must notify the government of their action.'—Zamacois, 'Historia de Mejico,' Vol. XIV, p. 525.

"To a devoutly Catholic population these orders were disturbing enough. Torn between their opposing political and religious beliefs, they hesitated and fell into the utmost confusion. Even so, political good sense undoubtedly would have won the day in the teeth of the church had not a tremendous mandate come from the Pope of Rome, the vicar of Christ on earth, to disobey utterly and completely all the commandments of the impious liberal government. This mandate of Pope Pius IX not only unified and reenforced the Catholic opposition in

Mexico, but the Catholic opposition throughout the world, against the liberal government, thus paving the way for the internecine strife and the armed European intervention which followed hard upon it.

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Lieutenant-Colonel Reber, Chief of the Aeronautical Division of the U. S. Army

"The last paragraph of this significant document in which Pope Pius IX deliberately preaches treason, sedition, and rebellion to a free people enjoying the benefits of an enlightened democratic government, is here given as being well worth careful consideration. After detailing at great length and with much complaint the various and numerous curtailments of the ecclesiastical privilege and prerogative sustained by the church in Mexico at the hands of the liberal government, the document concludes:—

" 'Thus we make known to the faithful in Mexico, and to the Catholic universe, that we energetically condemn every decree that the Mexican government has enacted against the Catholic religion, against the church and her sacred ministers and pastors, against her laws, rights, and property, and also against the authority of this Holy See. We raise our pontifical voice with apostolic freedom before you to condemn, reprove, and declare null, void, and without any value the said decrees, and all others which have been enacted by the civil authorities in such contempt of the ecclesiastical authority of this Holy See, and with such injury to the religion, to the sacred pastors, and illustrious men. For this we command that those who have contributed to the fulfilment of the said decrees by action, advice, or command shall seriously meditate upon the penalties and censures imposed by the apostolic constitutions, and by the canons

of the councils against the violators of sacred persons and things, against the violators of the ecclesiastical liberty and power, and against the usurpers of the rights of this Holy See.'

"The entire document may be verified in 'Mexico a Traves de los Siglos,' Vol. V, p. 226. . . .

"The real significance of this papal mandate, as likewise the real significance of the constitution of 1857, which it was intended to overthrow, would seem to have escaped all historians, and to have left no impress upon public opinion. The fundamental importance of the one can only be measured by the fundamental importance of the other. No document in history is profounder or of more far-reaching consequence than this Mexican constitution of 1857. It may yet become — and that shortly — the engrossing subject of international diplomacy, the *casus belli* between international reaction and international revolution, and ultimately the Magna Charta of a new civilization.

"In like manner the papal mandate aimed at its destruction is a document of equally profound and far-reaching consequence. The fact that within the last sixty years the papal power has been directly exerted to overthrow the lawfully constituted authorities of a free republic should strike the discerning mind as a fact of more than passing significance.

"These two documents, therefore, are of immense importance. If the constitution is the challenge of the impending world-wide social revolution, the papal mandate of Pius IX is the answer of world-wide reaction; and the struggle which began then is in full force to-day, and must go on till the world be ruled by one or the other."—*pp. 203-215.*

In the light of this quotation from recent Mexican history, there need be no uncertainty regarding the real attitude of the papacy toward the Constitution of the United States, notwithstanding the love professed for it by some papal ecclesiastics. That the latter document is not condemned and repudiated by the papal church in this country, is due not to the principles of that church, but to her policy only.

CIVIL WAR IN COLORADO

THE question of government by consent of the governed in the United States, as opposed to government by consent of "some of the governed"— or in other words, class government — has come to be much more than one of academic interest. In chapter XV reference is made to the amendment to the Declaration of Independence made upon the floor of Congress by Senator Platt of Connecticut and acquiesced in by the majority of Congress and by religious and secular journals in this country. Allusion is also made to the suspension of popular government in some of the mining regions of West Virginia, and striking statements relative to the situation are quoted from Judge Cullen, late head of the New York State Court of Appeals. Since that chapter was written the most serious situation that has ever arisen in the history of class warfare in this country, has been developed in the State of Colorado — a situation with which neither the civil authorities nor State military forces were able to cope. The trouble arose out of a miners' strike in September, 1913, and grew until it assumed the proportions of civil war, which was suppressed only by federal troops sent into the State by President Wilson. And these troops were required to remain in the disturbed area in order to prevent the conflict from breaking out afresh.

Arrayed against each other in this conflict are the mine owners, the capitalists and employers of labor, on the one hand, and the miners' unions on the other hand, including the United Mine Workers of America, which has a membership several hundred thousand strong. The antagonism between these parties is bitter and seemingly ineradicable.

It is charged that it has become the practise of owners of large business enterprises in this country whose property or other interests may be threatened by strikes, to employ their own armed guards, constituting a sort of private soldiery; and that these forces are recruited from the lower element of society, from men who love to fight and who can be depended on to do the work entrusted to them without hindrance from conscientious scruples. These private guards, it is charged, committed numerous atrocities upon the Colorado miners and their families. On the other hand, it is declared that the striking miners are a lawless class recruited from Europe and Asia, ignorant both of the American language and of American laws and institutions. That there is truth in both these statements is not unlikely.

The following description of the Colorado situation is given upon the authority of State Senator Helen R. Robinson:—

"The conflict has been waged over a territory more than eighty miles in extent, reaching from beyond Walsenburg on the north to Tercio on the south, less than two miles from New Mexico as the bullet flies. A tangle of coal camps sprawl over low foothills and cut unsightly scars in wide plateaus. To the east are lonely gray prairies; to the west rise the Spanish peaks. . . . Still further westward and northward stretch the misty glories of the Sangre de Cristo range — the 'Mountains of the Blood of Christ.' Geographically the region is a part of Colorado. Industrially it is a barony of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company.

"The managers for the company have long controlled these two counties of Huerfano and Las Animas. They have controlled the courts. They have controlled the sheriff's office. They have owned the mayors and most of the ministers, the merchants and the lawyers. There have, indeed, been times in the past when they have extended their operations beyond the limits of their barony and made and unmade Colorado governors. . . .

"The intermittent industrial warfare which for thirty years has been recurring in southern Colorado has always raged around the question of the recognition of the labor-unions. Again and again the mine operators have replaced strikers by strike-breakers. Capital has won — only to find the 'scabs' of to-day become the strikers of to-morrow. Over and over again; always the same story.

"The Americans, Welshmen, and Scotchmen who used to work in the Colorado mines have gradually been eliminated. . . . To fill their places men have been brought to the State from all the loose corners of Europe and Asia — Assyrians, Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Lithuanians, Russians, Poles, Austrians, Croatians, Mexicans — a Babel huddle, speaking thirty-six different languages and dialects.

"Less than thirty per cent of the strikers understand the English language. And it is apparent that the new battalions of strike-breakers, brought into the State during the past months, have less understanding than the men whose places they have supplied.

"An interesting side-light on the type of citizens thus added to the population and the problems of Colorado was afforded a few weeks back when some mine 'detectives' were bringing in

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A Group of Armed Strikers

— in defiance of the laws of Colorado — a band of men from the Balkan States. When these strike-breakers left the train they suddenly became restive and surly, refusing to go further. The 'detectives' tried arguments, but their words brought no light of intelligence to those stolid faces. Then one of the guards had a moment of inspiration. He stepped in front of the strike-breakers and shouted 'War!' That was one word the Bulgarians and Servians understood. They formed themselves immediately into docile marching order and started forth valiantly, believing, doubtless, that they were going forward to fight the Turks. . . .

"There were speedy clashes between the strikers and the mine guards, many of them Baldwin-Feltz gunmen, the modern successors of the armed bands in the train of medieval barons — a private soldiery tolerated to-day only in China and the United States.

"There was enough turbulence to make Governor Ammons feel himself justified in sending the militia to the strike zone. The State troops took possession of the district October 27. For a month all went well. Then desertions and releases began to leave vacancies in the ranks. It was proved conclusively

before the congressional investigating committee that those vacancies were speedily filled.

"By whom?

"By mine guards and detectives who continued drawing their three dollars or five dollars a day from the coal companies while the State paid them also. The work for which the State paid them was — or should have been — maintaining strict impartiality between the two parties to the quarrel. The coal operators naturally expected a different sort of service. Evidence accumulates that they received it. . . .

"Months dragged on with the tension between the strikers and the militia constantly increasing. Bitter stories were told before investigating committees of wrongs done to the wives and daughters of the strikers and of quite uncalled-for violence shown towards the strikers themselves by the militia. It would have been strange indeed had the course of events been otherwise — with thousands of idle men drawn up on opposing sides and always the open saloon between.

"The strikers seemed to be losing ground. They might revile the militia as 'scab herders,' but that did not alter the fact that strike-breakers were working many of the mines. At this juncture the governor withdrew the militia from the strike zone. Two local companies were immediately enlisted in the cities of Trinidad and Walsenburg. I was in those cities at the time and know they were recruited exclusively from mine guards, gunmen in the pay of the companies, and others of the same ilk."

Shortly after this, on April 20, the trouble reached its climax in a tragic affair at Ludlow, the largest of the tent colonies established by the United Mine Workers for the strikers and their families after the strikers had left the premises of the mine owners. This colony was located on an open prairie, not far from some of the largest mines. According to President Osgood of the Victor American Fuel Company, "the United Mine Workers, organizers and agitators, visited the various camps, preaching anarchy to the workers." The employers "called on the county authorities to protect their men and property, but the authorities were powerless, being unwilling or unable to incur the expense. The county sheriffs, however, advised the operators that 'if they would employ suitable men they would be commissioned as deputy sheriffs.' This was the origin of the so called 'mine guards.'" According to President Osgood, the strikers at Ludlow began the conflict by firing on the militia from their tents, in which were women and children. The

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State Militia Being Rushed into Ludlow on Freight Cars, Ready for Action

militia returned the fire, using a quick-firing gun. In the course of the battle the tents caught fire, probably from an explosion of some kind, and the entire camp was swept by the conflagration. After it was over thirteen charred bodies were taken from the ruins, eleven of whom were children, and the remaining two women.

According to the statement given out for publication by the president, vice-president and secretary of the United Mine Workers of America, the mine operators endeavored to intimidate the miners into submission, and to this end "began a policy of persecution and the establishment of a reign of terror. They evicted the miners from their homes, and employed hundreds of vicious gunmen, many of whom had been imported from cities and communities outside the State. They armed these men with deadly weapons and high-power machine guns, some of which were installed in steel-constructed automobiles, which moved quickly from place to place, for the evident purpose of terrorizing the miners and their families. Many miners and their representatives have been shot and killed. The homes of the striking miners have been invaded, shot into, and many of them completely destroyed. Hundreds of the striking miners

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Mine Guards Shooting at Strikers from Mine Property

have been thrown into prison and confined therein without a charge against them." Whether this statement be true or not, it expresses the belief of the officers and members of a vast organization of miners, extending over a large section of the country. It shows the bitterness of sentiment felt by these hundreds of thousands of men towards the capitalist class by whom they are employed.

According to John D. Rockefeller Jr., who speaks for the operators, the whole trouble has come from a refusal of the operators to unionize their mines, or to arbitrate the question of doing so. He says:—

"We do not question the right of any workman to freely associate themselves in unions for the furtherance of their common legitimate interests, but we do assert the equal right of an individual to work independently of a union if he so elects. We are contending against the right of unions to impose themselves upon an industry by force, by assault and murder, and not against the right of men to organize for their mutual benefit.

"The impression has been created that if we would submit to the unionizing of the camps of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company this entire trouble would be ended. The public generally does not seem to consider whether or not this is a right or fair demand, and in the interest of the employees of the company as a whole. What would become of the great majority of its workers were such surrender to be made? All the loyal non-union employees, numbering several thousands, more than ninety per cent of the total number employed in the mines, who have been faithful and true to its interests, would be thrown out of employment

Photo by Paul Thompson

New Machine Gun Used by U. S. Troops, Capable of Firing Five Hundred Steel Bullets Per Minute. One Soldier Can Carry It and Only Two Men are Required to Operate It

unless willing to submit as individuals to a union dictation. Is it the spirit of American fair play which is asking such ruthless disregard of the interests of honest men, or is it the spirit of partizanship and self-seeking?"

The views of the well-known Judge Ben Lindsey, of Denver, were strongly in sympathy with the miners. He was quoted as saying, while on his way to Washington to lay the situation before President Wilson, that Colorado was a sleeping volcano, and that the world could not even guess at the atrocities committed at Ludlow by State soldiers sent to guard the mines.

"The situation," he said, "has got beyond the mere question of a strike. It has become a question of peace or civil war. In the judgment of most of our people President Wilson is the only man who can settle the present difficulties. If he does not take hold we can see nothing ahead but further violence, bloodshed and a terrible loss of life and property.

"The governor of the State and the legislature have demonstrated that they are unable to do what the people wanted them

to do — provide a constructive program and bring about an arbitration and settlement of the conflict. The President can do it. The people of Colorado feel that he ought to do it. And we believe that he will do it. If he does, he will be backed by the overwhelming sentiment of the people of Colorado and the people of this country.

"Several of the women victims of the Ludlow massacre are going to Washington with me to ask the President to hear their story. I have heard it. It is one of the most terrible stories of brutality and outrage ever told. There is nothing in civilized or savage warfare that is any worse than the atrocities committed by the State troops. The militia is made up in large part of gunmen, desperadoes, and employees of the coal mines. They will do things that ordinary soldiers would not think of doing. They are utterly irresponsible in many cases and seem to grow in bloodthirstiness as they have opportunity to kill and maim."

Further evidence as to the sentiments entertained not only by the rank and file but by the leading officials of the mining organizations, was given at a meeting held in Beethoven Hall, New York City, May 25, 1914, in behalf of the Colorado strikers. At this meeting the head of the mining department of the American Federation of Labor said, as quoted in the press reports:—

"What I want to tell you here plainly, so that you may have full warning, is that our present policies in Colorado are worn to a frazzle, and will never be resorted to again if President Wilson takes away the troops and turns the militia wolves back among us.

"We have sued for peace and have appealed to an imbecile governor in vain, just as we prayed to President Wilson in vain for months before he finally sent the troops when at last we were in a position to fight back.

"We do not know why he sent the troops, but if it was to drive us back to the old slavery he won't be able to do it. If he tries, or if he surrenders us to the militia, then it stands to reason that we will not again try to fight the hired gunmen of John D. Rockefeller. Instead we will go after the Rockefellers themselves.

"And, God being my witness, we will send them back to the hell from which they came. We had forty guns in camp when they trained the machine guns on the women and babies at Ludlow. But in a week we had 2,000 guns and men were pouring in from all directions. Let the militia come back among us and

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Officials of the United Mine Workers of America, Who Were Chosen to Represent the Striking Coal Miners of Colorado Before the Conciliation Board at Washington

harm so much as the hair of a single mother's head and we will send forth a trumpet call to labor which will bring us 50,000 fighters.

"We are desperate and are driven to the weapons of desperation. We have heard of investigations until the very word 'investigate' has become a hiss and a by-word among us. We know this without more investigation that we have gone as far as it is honorable for men to go in permitting fiends in the name of law and order to murder our babies and our women. . . .

"If the worst comes to the worst and we go in for the job we may have to do, we will neither ask for mercy nor give mercy. If we pass the limit of decency which we have reached, it will be an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

This bold threat of assassination was made, let it be remembered, at a great public meeting in the nation's metropolis, in the most open manner, and apparently with no dissenting response.

Major E. J. Boughton, judge advocate of the military district of Colorado, also came East as a special commissioner of Governor Ammons to tell the truth about the Colorado disturbances. Professional agitators and reckless leaders of the miners were blamed by him as being the principal causes of the trouble.

Two of these leaders, he declared, sent out proclamations through the mining districts calling for men to overturn the State government. A press dispatch referring to Major Boughton's testimony says:—

"'These men said they were fighting the State and Rockefeller,' added Major Boughton. 'What had Rockefeller to do with it? We do not know Mr. Rockefeller in Colorado. But we do know that in the State there exists the worst rebellion this country has had since or before the civil war.

"'Eastern people have no idea of the conditions there. We are dealing with a conglomeration of the most savage people to be found anywhere. Not one in a hundred is a citizen of this country. Their acts of cruelty are almost unbelievable. Militiamen who fell into their hands were tortured and mutilated. They broke the arms and legs of soldiers before putting them to death.

"'Yet the governor worked day and night trying to avoid bloodshed and tried every means to reach a peaceful settlement. He, with Secretary Wilson of the Cabinet, had a conference with representatives of the miners and operatives, and it looked as though a settlement would be reached until the professional agitators and wild leaders forced trouble by the renewal of open hostilities.'

"The Major brought samples of the ammunition found on the strike battle-fields and taken from the miners. It included shotgun shells containing large leaden slugs, explosive bullets, and a type of shell which he designated as a 'poison bullet.'"

As regards the industrial effect of this civil war, an eyewitness from the affected district said:—

"An area of fully seventy-five square miles has been laid bare. Everywhere you see the blackened ruins of tipples and buildings, blown up or burned, and a crow might fly over them looking in vain for food of any kind. That region represents absolute chaos."

For a long time the State of Colorado seemed to be utterly unable to cope with the situation, and took no measures to provide for peace and order, which were being maintained by the presence of federal troops. This called out a severe rebuke upon Governor Ammons from President Wilson, who declared that the federal government could not indefinitely perform duties which devolved upon the State government.

The serious and discouraging aspect of the situation lies in the fact that after many years of this industrial conflict, no

apparent progress has been made toward the establishment of permanent peace. No methods have been devised for adjusting the relations of employer and employee upon a basis of mutual good will, which alone can insure prosperity. On the contrary, the movement seems to be in the opposite direction. Never was a strike in the coal mines marked by greater bitterness of feeling, or by more tragic results in the loss of life and property. With the unequal distribution of wealth there must necessarily come a division of society into classes; and as this process continues there comes a struggle as to which class shall rule. But the establishment of class rule in the republic will mark the end of popular government.

GENERAL INDEX

PAGE

ABBOTT, MR. F. E., against aims of National Reform Ass'n 240
"Abridgement of Christian Doctrine," on spiritual authority of Catholic Church 221
Absurdity of national righteousness by law 363
Adams, John, quoted 25
Advancement of last half century without precedent 189
All classes should be equal before the law 281
Allies of the National Reform Association 399, 400
All power attending the Christian evangelist 354
"America dominantly Catholic" .. 161
American Bible Society 67
American Cardinals, new ones created in 1912 158
honors claimed for by Church of Rome 158
American fleet sent to Mexican waters 474
American Revolution, not a war of conquest 127, 128
America supporting the Vatican .. 162
Anderson, W. W., on necessity of Sabbath laws 271
Anthracite coal, first use of in the U. S. 420
Anti-Catholic literature, effort to debar from U. S. mails 155
Anti-Sunday movements of present day 279
Arrest of American boat's crew at Tampico, Mexico 466

BAILEY, SENATOR J. W., on Sunday legislation 275
Bartholdt, Hon. Richard, on unconstitutionality of Sunday laws 263
Basis of true reform 280
Bear, the, of Daniel 7 82
Beecher, Rev. Chas., on apostasy of Protestant churches 203
Benevolent despotism, a 299
Berkeley, Bishop, quoted on the course of empire 107
Berthier, Marshal, takes pope prisoner 116, 117
Bills to Romanize public schools in New York City 445-453
Bingham, Hon. J. A., quoted on nature of government sought by first settlers in America .. 138
Bishop Foster, testimony of, on formal religion of Europe 269
Bishop of St. Asaph, quoted 27
Borah, Senator, on rights of the minority 279

PAGE

Browne, Sir Thomas, predicted growth of a new world power 24
prophecy of 27
Brownson, Dr. O., quoted against Protestant principles in U. S. government 172
Bryan, Wm. Jennings, on coercion in religion 291
Burke, Edmund, on American Revolution 129
Burnaby, quoted regarding the course of empire 25

CAMILLE FLAMMARION 196
Campbell, Alexander, on Protestant sects 224
Cardinal Gibbons indorses Blair Sunday bill 402
Cardinal Gibbon's jubilee 179
"Catechism of the Christian Religion," on Sabbath commandment 218
"Catholic Christian Instructed," on holy days commanded by the church 219
Catholic Church, the, on Sunday legislation 275
Catholic Federation, the, when organized 152
membership and growth 153
political designs of 153
purpose of 154
resolutions passed by 155, 157
Catholic procession in Westminster Abbey 277
Catholic supremacy in America, result of 277
Catholic World, the, quotes Dr. O. Brownson against U. S. government 172
Champlain *Journal*, on result of religious amendment to Constitution 281, 282
Change of the Sabbath, acknowledgments and claims made by Roman Church 222
Changes in Europe during A. D. 1817-1867 35
Chicago *Express*, on similarity of religious conditions in Europe and America 269, 270
Chidwick, Rev. John P., says U. S. government and Catholic Church are in sympathy 178
Christian Church, the, symbolized by woman 91
condition of in the last days 203
God's care for 147
Christian Citizenship Movement aims of 346
based upon voting power of the

church 346
blinds minds of people to important Scripture truths 356
general diffusion of the idea .. 345
has no support in Scripture 346-348
parallel in the days of the apostles 355
will turn nation back toward Dark Ages 354
will unite Protestants and Romanists 354, 355
Christian civil government impossible 361, 368
"Christian Nation" decision, the 404-407
Christians, exhorted to turn away from worldly professors 206
Christian Statesman, organ of National Reform Association .. 235
Christians the salt of the earth 348
not politically 356
Christian World, the, welcomes Catholic alliance in Sunday cause 276
Christ's kingdom not of this world 362
Church, the, defining heresy 247
statement of, against office holding by non-Christians 250
Civil government attempting to be Christian; result of 365-369
Civil government not opposed to Christianity 361, 369
Civil war in Colorado 491
Class antagonism in the U. S..... 301
Closing reflections 390-412
Columbus Day 178
Coming destruction, the 411
Concessions by Mexican government to foreign capitalists 461, 462
Conditions of present day contrasted with those of century ago 385-390
Confidential letter showing expectations of Roman Church in America 161
Congress decides Sunday to be the Sabbath of the fourth commandment 403
Congress in the power of the clergy 404
Congress of the U. S., asked to legislate against Protestant literature 157
Constantine, Roman emperor, transferred seat of empire to Constantinople 93
Constitution of the U. S., guarantees republican form of government 58
attitude toward religious questions and classes 59, 60
bars religious test for office, and religious legislation by Congress 58
effect in establishing stable government 67
protects religious freedom ..140, 141
"the most sacred political document" 67
Coolidge, Prof., on prosperity of the U. S. 32
Cragin, A. H., on American liberty 61
Croly, Rev. George, on end of papal supremacy 117
Cullen, Judge Edgar M., on tendency to subversion of personal rights in U. S. 301, 302

D'ARANDA, COUNT, quoted 28
Dark Ages, the, how caused 349
D'Aubigne, Merle, quoted on spread of Romanism and atheism 149
Declaration of Independence, on equality of rights 58
repudiated on floor of Congress 207
de Girardin, Emile, quoted on American progress 30, 31
Des Moines (Ia.) *Globe*, advocates change to constitutional monarchy 310
De Tocqueville, quoted 28, 29
Diaz, Porfirio 461
overthrow of 464
Difference between God's government and human governments 366
"Doctrinal Catechism," on spiritual power of Catholic Church as shown by change of the Sabbath 220
on inconsistency of Protestants in keeping Sunday 220
on Protestant departure from the Bible 221
Dublin Nation, the, quoted on growth of the U. S. 31, 130

EDUCATION, by Roman Church, shortest road back to Dark Ages 154
Efforts to secure Sunday law for District of Columbia 379
Elliott, Chas., justifies Sunday legislation 256
England's attitude toward the Holy Alliance 454, 455
Examiner and Chronicle, on making nation Christian by vote of Congress 273
on government aid to religion .. 273
Exemption clause repealed in Sunday law of Arkansas 371
Exemption clauses do not change unjust character of Sunday laws 200
Exemption clauses in Sunday laws no bar to prosecutions 263, 264

FALSE CHRISTS and false prophets 191
False prophet, the 123
Farley, Cardinal, welcome by citizens of New York 158
Federal Council of Churches, the, fulfilling Rev. 13 312
attitude of toward religious teaching in public schools 323
basis of organization 315
cooperation of with Roman Catholic Church 339, 341
denominations and people represented by 321
discards "Protestant" as a term indicating division 340
does not stand for old-time Chris-

tianity 340
efforts for Sunday legislation 341, 342
expects to monopolize religious work in the U. S. 338
first session of 321
influence of in foreign missionary work 323, 324
intolerant towards Seventh-day observers 330-335
involves church and state union 319
methods of work 317
power of, for political use 319
provides parallel to days of Constantine 320
purposes of 316, 317, 321
seeks to win the workingmen 325-328, 341
takes strong stand for Sunday observance 329
when and where organized ..314, 315
why misled 313
will oppress the religious minority 337
will speak with authority 318
First settlements in the U. S. 33
Foster, Rev. J. M., quoted 29
Fox, Mr. John D. 194
Franklin, Benjamin, on evidence of good and bad religions 253
Free public education condemned by Rome 168, 169
Funk, Dr. I. K. 196
Funston, General Frederick 480

GALIANI, prediction of 25
Gillies, Rev. Dr. Andrew, on present condition of religion in the churches 205
God deals with people individually 362
God's people not abandoned in the conflict 290
will not be killed 291, 292
Gospel, the, defined 362
Government by consent of "some of the governed" 298
Government of persons vs. government of laws 300
Governments exist for the benefit of individuals 364
Governments represented by prophetic symbols 83, 84
Graham, Rev. E. B., expresses sentiments of National Reformers toward their opponents 265
Grant, U. S., on keeping church and state separate 257
Great and terrible beast of Dan. 7 82
Great apostasy, foretold, has taken place 223
Great red dragon, the, of Rev. 12 83
a persecuting power 146
power designated by 90, 91, 92
Greek word for mark, in prophecy of Rev. 13 217
Gunsaulus, Rev. Frank, against Declaration of Independence 309

HALE, WILLIAM BAYARD, on President Wilson's Mexican policy 458
Harmon, Ex-Attorney-General, on imperial policy of the U. S. 304
Harrison, Frederick, impressions regarding America 78, 79
Hartley, David, quoted 26
He goat, the, of Daniel 8 82
Hendrix, Bishop E. R., advocates merging of religious denominations 338
Henry, Patrick, on religious freedom 249
Henry, William Wirt, on influence of American principles 139
Henson, Rev. P. S., against Declaration of Independence 309
Herbert, George, quotation from poem of 27
Hersey, John, on identity of two-horned beast 108
Heyburn, Senator, on compulsory Sabbath observance 267
History of Mexican republic, lessons of 464, 485-490
Holy Alliance, the 454
Horn, a, significance as used in Scripture 136, 137, 143
Horns, the, of Dan 7 and 8 135
Hostilities between American and Huerta governments 474
Hour of temptation, the, coming on the world 197, 295
Hoyt, Rev. Wayland, on religious freedom in Federal Council of Churches 333
Huerta, Victoriano 465
power behind 482, 483

IMAGE, the, of Daniel 2 82
Image to the beast, is made by the people 200
acts ascribed to it 209
how it could be formed in the U. S. 201
proceeds from Protestant churches 202
what constitutes the image 200, 207, 247, 290
Impeachment of Governor Sulzer 452
Inalienable rights set aside in U. S. 302, 303
Independent, The, on inconsistencies of National Reform Movement 245
against Declaration of Independence 309
justifies Sunday enforcement on Seventh-day observers 264, 265
quoted on "Rome and Democracy" 167
Index, the, on National Reform Movement 240, 241, 242, 243, 244
Industrial growth of the U. S. .. 38
Interborough Association of Women Teachers 450
Investor's Review, the, against Declaration of Independence 310
Ireland, Archbishop, on church and age 163
on mission of the Catholic Church in America 165
on union of Catholic Church and

America 163
Issue before us, the 209

JANESVILLE *Gazette*, on danger of restricting religious freedom 281
Jefferson, Thomas, on separation of church and state in U. S. Constitution 247
Jesus Christ, designated by man child 91
Jews, in New York City, not exempted from Sunday law 263

KINGS of the earth, gathered to battle of day of God 192

LAND TENURE in Mexico, reasons for 460
Lansing (Mich.) *State Republican*, quoted on religious amendment to federal Constitution 248
Last days now reached 211
Law of God, as changed by man 217, 224
not changed by Christ 222, 223
Legislation against Mormonism, appealed to as justifying Sunday legislation 255
Leopard, the, of Daniel 7 82
distinct from two-horned beast 185, 187
identity with little horn 95-97
received deadly wound in papal head 115, 116
represents both ecclesiastical and civil power 103
seven heads denote successive forms of government 114
symbol of the papacy 94, 113
Liberalism, platform of 268
Liberty, the magnet which has drawn people to the U. S. 63, 64
Lincoln, Abraham, declares the people to be the rightful masters 255
Lion, the, of Daniel 7 82
Litch, Josiah, on chronology of two-horned beast 119
Little horn, the, of Daniel 8 82
Lloyd, Rev. A. S., on signs of Christian unity 324
Lockhart, W. L., challenge of, to Protestants of Ireland 222
Locusts, the, of Rev. 9 82
a persecuting power 147
prophecy fulfilled; by wound .. 117
Lodge, Sir Oliver, address on Soul Immortality 192

MADERO, FRANCISCO 464
overthrow of 465, 466
Madison, James, on distinction between spheres of religion and civil government 251
Main features of U. S. history ..22, 23
Main, Rev. A. E., plea of, for religious freedom in Federal Council of Churches for Seventh-day Baptists 335
Man of more value to God than governments 364
Mark of the beast
enforced by two-horned beast 209, 227
divine warning against 209
must signify what 212
penalty for refusing to receive 209
relation to Sunday keeping 225, 226
the mark defined 215
by whom received and how 227, 228
early predictions concerning .. 231
fulfilment of prophecy concerning 251
how received in forehead and in right hand 293
not all will receive it 291
Martyn (History of Great Reformation) on peaceful rise of the U. S. 130, 131
Mass meeting at Louisville, Ky., to enforce "civil" Sabbath 262
McAllister, Rev. D. 238
McFaul, Bishop, quoted on conversion of America to Catholicism 164
McMillan, Representative, quoted at hearing on Johnston Sunday bill 271
Mediation between U.S. and Mexico, by Argentina, Brazil, and Chile 480-482
Memorials against religious legislation, from General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists 434-440
from American Sabbath Tract Society 440-444
Message of President Wilson to Congress on Mexican situation 466, 474
Mexican constitution 485-487
Mexican Revolution, causes of 459
Military field mass, at Brooklyn and Washington 177
Miners' strike in Colorado, serious character of 491
atrocities charged to mine guards 491
battle at Ludlow 494
could not be controlled by state forces 491
destruction of property caused by 500
opposing parties in 491
sentiments expressed at meeting in New York City 498, 499
statement by Judge Ben Lindsey 497, 498
testimony of John D. Rockefeller Jr., ... 496
testimony of Major E. J. Boughton 499, 500
testimony of officials of United Mine Workers 495
testimony of president Osgood .. 494
testimony of state senator Helen Robinson 492-494
Miracles, two kinds of 190
Missionary, The, quoted on Catholic outlook in America 158
Mitchell (School Geography) quoted on national growth of the U. S. 32
Monroe Doctrine, the 454-458
as viewed in South America 456
Monument to Columbus unveiled at Washington 178
Moral accountability of individuals 360
can not be delegated 361
Moral conditions in the last days 148

Morality not enforceable by State law 262
Moral law, the 216
Morning Star, of New Orleans, quoted against U. S. Constitution, U. S. Flag, Declaration of Independence, and separation of church and state 170-172
Movements called for by prophecy of two-horned beast 230
M. Viviani, on purpose of Catholic Church in France 444

NAHUM, prophecy of 188
National apostasy of U. S. ..297, 397
National Reform Association, when organized 233
constituency of 233, 234
extending its work through foreign missionaries 253
fifth convention of 238
growing in power and influence 252
historical sketch of 236-240
incorporation of 240
more political than ecclesiastical, and appeals to all parties 242
objects of 233, 267
Philadelphia Convention of 1871, resolution passed at, calling for religious amendment to federal Constitution 249
plea for amendment to federal Constitution 234
program of work similar to that of Federal Council of Churches 253
representatives of, advocate bloodshed if necessary to accomplish their purpose 272
requests all religious bodies to appoint committees on Christian citizenship 254
St. Louis convention of 239, 240
world Christian citizenship conferences 252
National Reform Movement, has given rise to the demands of Liberalism 272
National Reform reasoning analyzed 284, 285
opposed to government by consent of governed 285, 309
"New national destiny" 304
Newton, Bishop, on ancient custom of marking servants 211
New World power, a 19
New York, leads world's cities in exports 36
Niemand, Professor, on new policy of the U. S. 308
Non-Christian government, a, not necessarily anti-Christian 368
No room in the week for two Sabbaths 344
North American Indians could not be reduced to slavery 460
Number of the beast 294

O'CONNELL, CARDINAL, welcome by citizens of Boston .. 158
Olney, Hon. Richard, on governmental departure of U. S. from principles of federal Constitution 307
Opposition to religious amendment movement, a stimulus rather than a barrier 267
Organizations to promote religious legislation 232
"Our First Century," quoted on American progress 413
Outlook for industrial peace 500, 501

PAPACY
attitude toward U. S. changed by "Christian nation" decision .. 173
claims right to fix laws of marriage 170
condemns democracy 167
described as the "man of sin" .. 213
has altered law of God 215
has designs on the U. S. 151
how formed 201
strong hold on the U. S. 152
symbolized by little horn 212
work of 212
Papal beast, how designated in prophecy 208
Papal program for America ..160, 162
Papal program to make America Catholic 174-177
Papal supremacy, date of beginning 201
Peons, the, of Mexico 459, 460
inhuman treatment of 462, 463
People of God will be persecuted in last days 148
Persecution, expected in the U. S. will assume organized form in last days 149
Phelan, D. S., quoted on Rome's prospects in America 161
Pia Foa 196
Platform of apostasy, the 303
no parallel between cases of Mormon and Seventh-day observer 256
Political corruption in U. S. 150
Polk, President James K., on the Monroe Doctrine 456
Polygamy, interferes with rights of the people 256
Pope Leo XIII., encyclical of, advocating "favor of the laws and the patronage of the public authority" in the U. S. for the Catholic Church 164
Pope, the, exalts himself above God 214
Power of early Christian church .. 349
Pownal, Governor, prediction of.. 26
quoted 28
Preachers, the, as successors to the prophets 365
President of Argentina, the, on the Monroe Doctrine 456
President Wilson attends Thanksgiving Mass at Washington .. 180
President Wilson's refusal to recognize the Huerta government .. 458
Press of U. S. muzzled by Rome .. 183

Pride and covetousness, deadly nature of 350
Proper sphere of the civil power .. 287
Prophecy of persecution in U. S. must be fulfilled 292
how it may be fulfilled 293
Prosecution of Seventh-day observers in Arkansas 372
Protestant churches, mistake of .. 203
drifting where 206
Protestant friendliness toward Rome 277
Protestantism, one of two great principles of U. S. government 141
Protest of patriotic societies and religious bodies against attendance of President Wilson at Thanksgiving Mass 180-182
Ptolemy Philopater 211
Public sentiment changing toward Sunday legislation 273, 274

QUIET REVOLUTION, a, in the U. S. 311

RAILWAY MILEAGE and freight tonnage of U. S. compared with other countries 38, 39
Ram, the, of Daniel 8 82
Real issue, involved in constitutional amendment 283, 284
Reason for U. S. being noticed in prophecy 392, 393
Recent religious prosecutions of Seventh-day observers 410
Recognition of God in the Constitution 282, 283
Religion and state means church and state 369
Religious amendment, the, to federal Constitution, advocated by eminent men 248
Religious citizenship league ..342, 343
Religious measures pressed upon Congress 401, 402, 409
Religious test for public office proposed 251, 252
Religious world, state of in the last days 207
Republicanism, one of two great principles of U. S. government 141
Rescript from Pope Leo XIII., making America a Catholic nation 163
Restraining hand of Providence, the 380
Richland *Star*, quoted 270
Roberts, Rev. Wm. H., on character and aims of the federal council of churches 321, 322
Robinson, Helen R., on Colorado mining strike 492-494
Roman Catholic legislature doing bidding of hierarchy 453
Roman Catholic influence with President and cabinet of U. S. 182
Roman Catholics, growth of in the U. S. 165
Catholic Church and school statistics in the U. S. 166
distribution of in the U. S. .. 166
whole number under American flag 165
Roman hierarchy, the, and the public schools 444-453
Roman republic, the, when proclaimed 117
Rome and the Mexican constitution 487-490
Rome, seat of the dragon, given to the papacy 94
symbolized by great red dragon 92
Roosevelt, Hon. Theodore, on discrimination on account of religion 287
quoted on growth of the U. S. 32
Root, Rev. E. T., on popularity of church federation movement .. 324
Root, Senator, on religious rights of the minority 259
Russia, population and territory of, compared with the U. S. 22

SABBATH-KEEPING not within the province of the state 289
Sabbath observance necessarily religious 262
Sabbath of the Lord, purpose of 225
Sabbath question, relation of to movement for religious legislation 251
Satolli, Francis, delivered message to America from Leo XIII. .. 163
Scarlet-colored beast, the, of Rev. 17 83
Schlegel, Frederick, declared North America the nursery of revolutionary principles 172
Sea, the, denotes peoples and nations 126
"Second Irrepressible Conflict," a 271
Secretary Bryan attends Thanksgiving Mass at Washington 180
Sillon, the, condemned by Leo XIII. 167
Sin doing more harm than crime 348-350
Smart, Rev. J. S., on "political duties of Christians" 233
Smith, Adam, prediction of 26
Sodom and Capernaum compared 353
South American statesmen on the Monroe Doctrine 456, 457
Sphere of rights of the state 287, 296
Sphere of the Christian church .. 296
Spirit in which the U. S. originated 20
Spirit of the church responsible for persecutions 277
Spirits of devils working miracles 189
Spiritualism, character of 193-195
assuming Christian garb 196
based on what 201
going to kings of the earth 196
origin of modern Spiritualism 194, 195
spread of 195
"Spiritual officers of the government" 158, 159
Statistics of population 35, 36
Stead, W. T., ... 196
Stelzle, Rev. Chas., on mission of Christian church 326
"St. Leopold Foundation" ..172, 173
Sulzer, Wm., deposed from governorship of New York ..444, 445

Sunday closing, of Columbian Exposition 402
of Jamestown Exposition 408
of post-offices in U. S. 379
of St. Louis Exposition 408
Sunday-law prosecutions during 1895-'96 378
prosecutions at Fayetteville, Ark. 373, 374
prosecutions in Tennessee ..375, 376
Sunday laws, religious discrimination of 265
discriminate against seventh-day observers 288
do not aim at securing privilege, but compulsion 266
not for the good of society .. 289
Sunday legislation tested 288
Sunday mail report, quoted from 59, 60
Sunday movement a sign of the times 259
Sunday-observance agitation in Europe 258-260
Sunday question, the, how affected by religious amendment ..248, 249
made political issue in California in 1882 257
Swing, Rev. David, on power of a church combine 260
Syllabus of errors, of Pius IX. .. 168
Symbols, series of, examined 81-85

TALMAGE, REV. T. DE WITT, believed two-horned beast to symbolize U. S. 102
Tammany Hall 444
Ten kingdoms arising from Roman empire 105
Territory covered by old-world powers 84, 85
Territory of the U. S. compared with that of Rome 21
Thanksgiving Mass at Washington 159
Theory of nation's moral personality; purpose of 358
sophistry of 359, 360
Third angel, the, of Rev. 14 120
Thompson, John S., on present-day conditions in fulfilment of prophecy 108
Thompson, J. P., on peaceful rise of U. S. 128
on origin of just powers in government 286
Thompson, Rev. Chas. L., on denominational unity in foreign mission work 325
Thompson, Richard W., on enforcement of Sunday rest 261
Times and laws, to be changed by papacy 212
Townsend, Geo. Alfred, on providential separation of U. S. from Europe 29
on church and state in American politics 235
on Europe watching U. S. 112
on rise of the American republic 129
"Treatise of Thirty Controversies," on change of the Sabbath .. 218
Tree, the, known by its fruit .. 370
True and false reform movements 280
Two-horned beast, the, of Rev. 13 84
a miracle-working power 185
appearance and work of 90
brings fire down from heaven . 187
dragon voice of 144, 146
erroneous views concerning ..101-105
exercises power in presence of papal beast 111
identity of, with false prophet of Rev. 19 189
identity with United States 124
line of prophecy connected with 88, 89
manner of its rise 126-134
must be located in North America 107, 112
must symbolize a republic 200
nature and extent of power exercised by 186
significance of horns 137-144
specifications identifying it 101
specifications to which government symbolized by must conform 145
time of its rise 113, 118-124
works miracles to deceive 189

UNCLEAN SPIRITS working miracles 192
Union of church and state in U. S. requires apostasy of both 297
United States, at head of earth's self-governing powers 22
acquisition of new territory by, as viewed by Latin American republics 453
agricultural progress of 413, 414
arts and sciences in 429, 430
banking business of 428
commercial growth of 426, 427
copper mining industry of ..421-424
corruption in cities of 150, 151
cotton culture in 414
credit of 43
deference of other powers to ..53-56
designs of Providence concerning 68-77
domain of, in 1776 413
early growth of 33, 34
educational development 48
educational progress in 430, 431
elements of evil in 140
entry into world politics 52
first telegraph line in 428
fruit culture in..... 415
government does homage to papacy 179
growth and prosperity of 40, 41
growth of, by immigration 429
has entered on new political pathway 303, 304
immigration to 48, 49
increase of wealth 41
increase of wealth compared with increase of population 47
insurance business of 429
iron industry of 419
lead mining in 425
literature in 431
live stock and farm animals in

manufactures of 416
peaceful manner of its rise ..126-131
people of, not all saints 147
perfectly fulfills all specifications of prophecy of two-horned beast of Rev. 13 393-397
postal service of 433
publishing work in 432
railway statistics of 38, 39, 428
regarded by Church of Rome as most promising field 157
religious element in formation of 64, 65
Schuyler Colfax on prosperity of 50-52
secret of its strength 141
silver and gold products of 420, 425, 426
size of principle crops 42-45
solid religious and political basis of 67
success in forming a stable government 66
the "marvel of the nations" 57
will exist to coming of Christ .. 89
..... 415, 416
manufacture of paper in 424

WASHINGTON, GEORGE, on religious freedom 59, 246
Webster, Daniel, on cause of growth of U. S. 139
Wesley, John, on chronology of two-horned beast 119
Western Christian Advocate, on worldliness in M. E. Church 205
White, Rev. James, on connection of National Reform Movement with Sunday observance 249
Why nations are mentioned in prophecy 81
Williams, Senator John Sharp, on non-establishment of religion in America 283
Woman, a, symbol of a church 91
Worship of the beast and his image 120, 210

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